

THE  
ESSAYS

OR

Counsell, Civil and Moral,

OF

Sir FRANCIS BACON,

*Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Alban, borne  
about y<sup>e</sup> prime of Queen Elizabeth:*

With a TABLE of the Colours

*of Spanish Arms made in 1588*

Good and Evil.

Whereunto is added

The WISDOM of the

ANTIENS.

*Enlarged by the Honourable Author him-  
self; and now more Exactly Published.*

L O N D O N,

Printed for A. Swall, at the Unicorn, at the  
West-end of St. Pauls Church. 1691.

THE  
ESSAYS

OF

FRANCIS BACON

OF THE

GOOD AND EVIL

ANALYSIS

OF THE

OF THE





TO THE  
Right Honourable my very good Lord,  
THE  
Duke of Buckingham His Grace,  
LORD HIGH-ADMIRAL  
OF  
ENGLAND.

Excellent Lord,

**S**OLOMON says, A Good  
Name is a precious Oyn-  
ment; and, I assure my self,  
such will Your Graces Name be with  
Posterity; for your Fortune and Me-  
rit, both have been Eminent; and You  
have planted things that are like to  
last. I do now publish my Essays, which,  
of all my other Works, have been most  
current: For that, as it seems, they come  
home to Mens Business, and Bosoms.

## The Epistle Dedicatory.

*I have enlarged them both in Number and Weight; so that they are indeed a New work. I thought it therefore agreeable to my Affection, and Obligation to Your Grace, to prefix your Name before them, both in English and Latine: For I do conceive, that the Latine Volume of them, (being in the Universal Language) may last as long as Books last. My Instauration I Dedicated to the King; my History of Henry the Seventh (which I have now also translated into Latine) and my Portions of Natural History to the Prince. And these I Dedicate to Your Grace, being of the best Fruits, that, by the good increase which God gives to my Pen and Labours, I could yield. God lead Your Grace by the hand.*

*Your Graces most obliged  
and Faithful Servant,*

*Fr. St. ALBAN.*

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## Elogies on the Illustrious Author.

*Ben. Johnson*, in his *Discoveries*, p. 101.

**T**H E R E happened in my time, one Noble Speaker [ *Lord Verulam* ] who was full of gravity in his speaking. His language (where he could spare or pass by a jest) was nobly censorious. No man ever spake more neatly, more pressly, more weightily, or suffered less emptiness, less idleness in what he uttered. No member of his Speech but consisted of the own graces. His Hearers could not cough or look aside from him without loss. He commanded where he spoke; and had his Judges angry and pleased at his devotion. No man had their affections more in his power. The fear of every man that heard him, was, lest he should make an end. *And afterwards*, *Lord Egerton*, the Chancellor, a great and grave Orator, &c. But his learned and able, (though unfortunate) Successor, [ *Lord Bacon* ] is he, who hath filled up all members, and performed that in our tongue, which may be compar'd or prefer'd, either to insolent *Greece* or haughty *Rome*. In short, within his view, and about his times, were all the Wits born, that could honour a language or help study. Now things daily fall; Wits grow downward, and Eloquence goes backward: So that he may be nam'd and stand as the mark and *axum* of our Language.

*And*

And a little after, My conceit of his Person was never increased toward him, by his place or honours. But I have and do reverence him for the greatness that was only proper to himself, in that he seem'd to me ever by his work, one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration, that had been in many Ages. In his Adversity I ever prayed, that God would give him strength, for greatness he could not want. Neither could I condole in a word or syllable for him; as knowing no Accident could do harm to Vertue, but rather help to make it manifest.

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A Cowley, in his Poem to the Royal Society, after some reflections upon the State of Philosophy aforetime, goes on.

Some few exalted Spirits this latter Age has shown,  
That labour'd to assert the Liberty  
(From Guardians, who were now Usurpers grown)  
Of this Old Minor still, Captiv'd Philosophy;  
But 'twas Rebellion call'd to fight  
For such a long oppressed Right.

BACON at last, a mighty Man, arose,  
Whom a wise King and Nature chose  
Lord Chancellor of both their Laws,  
And boldly undertook the injur'd Pupils cause.

III.

Aubority, which did a Body boast,  
Though 'twas but Air condens'd, and stalk'd about,  
Like some old Giants more Gigantic Ghost;  
To terrise the Learned Rout  
With the plain Magick of true Reasons Light,  
He chac'd out of our sight,

Nor

Nor suffer'd Living Men to be misled  
 By the vain shadows of the Dead: *(Said;*  
 To Graves from whence it rose, the conquer'd Phantome  
 He broke that Monstrous God which stood  
 In midst of th' Orchard, and the whole did claim,  
 Which with a useless Sith of Wood,  
 And something else not worth a name,  
 (Both vast for shew, yet neither fit  
 Or to Defend, or to Beget;  
 Ridiculous and senseless Terrors! ) made  
 Children and superstitious Men afraid.  
 The Orchard's open now, and free;  
**BACON** has broke that Scare-crow Deity;  
 Come, enter, all that will,  
 Behold the rip'ned Fruit, come gather now your fill,  
 Yet still, methinks, we fain would be  
 Catching at the Forbidden Tree,  
 We would be like the Deitie,  
 When Truth and Falshood, Good and Evil, we  
 Without the Sences aid within our selves would see;  
 For 'tis God only who can find  
 All Nature in his Mind.

IV.

From Words, which are but Pictures of the Thought,  
 (Though we our Thoughts from them perversly draw)  
 To Things, the Minds right Object, he it brought,  
 Like foolish Birds to painted Grapes we flew;  
 He sought and gather'd for our use the True;  
 And when on heaps the chosen Bunches lay,  
 He prest them wisely the Mechanic way,  
 Till all their juyce did in one Vessel joyn,  
 Ferment into a Nourishment Divine,  
 The thirsty Souls refreshing Wine. *Who*



*Who to the Life an exact Piece would make,  
Must not from others Work a Copy take;  
No, not from Rubens or Vandike;  
Much less content himself to make it like  
Th' Ideas and the Images which lye  
In his own Fancy, or his Memory.  
No, he before his sight must place  
The Natural and Living Face;  
The real Object must command  
Each Judgment of his Eye, and Motion of his Hand.*  
V.

*From these long Errors of the way,  
In which our wandering Predecessors went,  
And like th' old Hebrews many years did stray  
In Desarts but of small extent,  
BACON, like Moses, led us forth at last,  
The barren WilderNESS he past,  
Did on the very Border stand,  
Of the blest promis'd Land,  
And from the Mountains Top of his Exalted Wit,  
Saw it himself, and shew'd us it.  
But Life did never to one Man allow  
Time to Discover Worlds, and Conquer too;  
Nor can so short a Line sufficient be  
To fathom the vast depths of Natures Sea:  
The work he did we ought to admire,  
And were unjust if we should more require  
From his few years, divided 'twixt th' Excess  
Of low Affliction, and high Happiness:  
For who on things remote can fix his sight,  
That's always in a Triumph, or a Fight?*

A. Cowley.  
ESSAYS



# ESSAYS.

I.

## *Of Truth.*



**W**HAT is *Truth*? said jesting *Pilate*, and would not stay for an answer. Certainly there be, that delight in giddiness, and count it a Bondage to fix a Belief; affecting free-will in thinking, as well as in acting. And though the Sects of Philosophers of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain discouraging Wits, which are of the same Veins, though there be not so much Blood in them, as was in those of the Antients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour, which men take in finding out of *Truth*; nor again, that when it is found, it imposeth upon mens thoughts, that doth bring *Lies* in favour; but a natural, though corrupt Love, of the *Lie* it self. One of the later Schools of the *Grecians* examineth the matter, and is at a stand, to think what should be in it, that Men should love *Lies*; where neither they make for pleasure, as with Poets, nor

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for

for Advantage, as with the Merchant, but for the *Lies* sake. But I cannot tell. This same *Truth* is a Naked and Open day-light, that doth not shew the Masques, and Mummeries, and Triumphs of the World, half so stately and daintily as Candle-light. *Truth* may perhaps come to the price of a Pearl, that sheweth best by day; but it will not rise to the price of a Diamond or Carbuncle, that sheweth best in varied Lights. A mixture of a *Lie* doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of Mens minds yain Opinions, flattering Hopes, false Valuations, Imaginations as one would, and the like; but it would leave the minds of a number of Men, poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and indisposition, and displeasing to themselves? One of the Fathers in great severity called Poesie, *Vinum Damonum*, because it filleth the Imagination, and yet it is but with the shadow of a *Lie*. But it is not the *Lie* that passeth through the mind; but the *Lie* that sinketh in, and sealeth in it, that doth the hurt, such as we spake of before. But howsoever these things are thus in Mens depraved judgments and affections; yet *Truth*, which only doth judge it self, teacheth, that the enquiry of *Truth*, which is the love-making, or wooing of it: the knowledge of *Truth*, which is the presence of it: and the belief of *Truth*, which is the enjoying of it, is the soveraign good of Human Nature. The first Creature of God in the works of the Days, was the light of the Sense; the last was the light of Reason;

Reason, and his Sabbath-Work ever since, is the illumination of his Spirit. First, he breathed light upon the face of the Matter or Chaos; then he breathed light into the face of Man; and still he breatheth and inspireth light into the face of his Chosen. The Poet that beautified the Sect, that was otherwise inferiour to the rest, saith yet excellently well: *It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see Ships tost upon the Sea; a pleasure to stand in the Window of a Castle, and to see a Battel, and the adventure thereof below: but no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage-ground of Truth: (an Hill not to be commanded, and where the Air is always clear and serene :) and to see the Errors, and Wandrings, and Mists, and Tempests in the Vale below: So always that this prospect be with Pity, and not with swelling or Pride. Certainly it is Heaven upon Earth, to have a Mans mind move in Charity, rest in Providence, and turn upon the Poles of Truth.*

To pass from Theological and Philosophical Truth, to the Truth of Civil business, it will be acknowledged, even by those that practise it not, that clear and round dealing is the honour of Mans nature, and that mixture of falshood is like alloy in Coin of Gold and Silver, which may make the Metal work the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the Serpent, which goeth basely upon the Belly, and not upon the feet. There is no Vice that doth so cover a Man with shame, as

to be found false and perfidious. And therefore *Mountaigne* saith prettily, when he enquired the reason, Why the word of the *Lie* should be such a disgrace, and such an odious charge: Saith he, *If it be well weighed, To say that a Man lieth, is as much as to say, that he is a Brave towards God; and a Coward towards Men.* For a *Lie* faces God, and shrinks from Man. Surely the wickedness of Falshood, and breach of Faith, cannot possibly be so highly exprest, as in that it shall be the last Peal, to call the Judgments of God upon the Generations of Men; it being foretold, that when Christ cometh, *He shall not find faith upon the Earth.*

## II.

*Of Death.*

**M**EN fear *Death*, as Children fear to go in the dark: And as that natural fear in Children is increased with Tales, so is the other. Certainly the contemplation of *Death*, as the *wages of sin*, and passage to another World, is Holy and Religious; but the fear of it, as a tribute due unto Nature, is weak. Yet in Religious Meditations, there is sometimes mixture of vanity and superstition. You shall read in some of the *Friers Books of Mortification*, that a Man should think with himself, what the pain is, if he have but his fingers end pressed or tortured, and

and thereby imagin what the pains of *Death* are, when the whole body is corrupted and dissolved; when many times *Death* passeth with less pain, than the torture of a Limb: For the most Vital parts are not the quickest of sense. And by him that spake only as a Philosopher, and natural man, it was well said; *Pompa mortis magis terret, quam Mors ipsa*, Groans, and Convulsions, and discoloured Face, and Friends weeping, and Blacks, and Obsequies, and the like, shew *Death* terrible. It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the mind of Man so weak, but it mates and masters the fear of *Death*: and therefore *Death* is no such terrible Enemy, when a Man hath so many attendants about him, that can win the combat of him. *Revenge* triumphs over *Death*; *Love* flights it; *Honour* aspires to it; *Grief* flieth to it; *Fear* pre-occupateth it. Nay we read, after *Orho* the Emperor had slain himself, *Pity* (which is the tenderest of Affections) provoked many to die, out of meer compassion to their Sovereign, and as the truest sort of Followers. Nay, *Seneca* adds *Niceness* and *Satiety*; *Cogita quandiu eadem faceres; Mori velle, non tantum Fortis, aut Miser, sed etiam Fastidiosus potest*. A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft over and over. It is no less worthy to observe, how little alteration in good Spirits the approaches of *Death* make. For they appear to be the same Men till the last instant. *Augustus Caesar* died in a complement,



*Livia*, *Conjugii nostri memor, vive, & vale*. *Tiberius* in *Disimulation*, as *Tacitus* saith of him; *Jam Tiberiam Vires, & Corpus, non Dissimulatio deserebant*. *Vespasian* in a jest, sitting upon the stool; *Ut puto, Deus fio*. *Galba* with a Sentence; *Eri, si ex re sis populi Romani*, holding forth his neck. *Septimius Severus* in dispatch; *Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum*. And the like. Certainly the *Stoicks* bestowed too much cost upon *Death*, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful. Better, saith he, *Qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat Natura*. It is as natural to die, as to be born; and to a little infant perhaps the one is as painful as the other. He that dies in an earnest pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot blood, who for the time scarce feels the hurt; and therefore a mind fixt, and bent upon somewhat that is good, doth avert the dolours of *Death*. But above all, believe it, the sweetest Canticle is, *Nunc dimittis*, when a Man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations. *Death* hath this also; that it openeth the Gate to good Fame, and extinguisheth Envy.

— *Extinctus amabitur idem*. —

### III.

#### *Of Unity in Religion.*

**R**eligion being the chief band of Human Society, it is a happy thing when it self is well

well



well contained within the true band of *Unity*. The Quarrels and Divisions about *Religion* were Evils unknown to the Heathen. The reason was, because the Religion of the Heathen consisted rather in Rites and Ceremonies, than in any constant belief. For you may imagine what kind of Faith theirs was, when the chief Doctors and Fathers of their Church were Poets. But the true God hath this Attribute, that he is a *jealous* God, and therefore his Worship and *Religion* will endure no mixture nor *Partner*. We shall therefore speak a few words concerning the *Unity* of the Church; *What are the Fruits thereof, what the Bonds, and what the Means.*

The *Fruits* of *Unity* (next unto the well-pleasing of God, which is All in All) are two; the one towards those that are *without the Church*, the other towards those that are *within*. For the former: It is certain, that Heresies and Schisms are of all others the greatest Scandals, yea, more than corruption of Manners. For as in the Natural Body, a Wound or Solution of continuity, is worse than a corrupt Humour; so in the Spiritual. So that nothing doth so much keep Men out of the Church, and drive men out of the Church, as breach of *Unity*. And therefore whensoever it cometh to that pass, that one saith, *Ecce in deserto*, another saith, *Ecce in penetralibus*; that is, when some Men seek Christ in the Conventicles of Hereticks, and others in an outward face of a Church, that Voice had need continually to sound in Mens Ears, *Nolite exire, Go not*

out. The Doctor of the Gentiles (the propriety of whose vocation drew him to have a special care of those *without*) saith, *If an Heathen come in and hear you speak with several Tongues, will he not say that you are mad?* And certainly it is little better, when Atheists and prophane persons do hear of so many discordant and contrary Opinions in *Religion*; it doth avert them from the Church, and maketh them to sit down in the *Chair of the Scorners*. It is but a light thing to be vouched in so serious a matter, but yet it expresseth well the deformity. There is a Master of Scoffing, that in his Catalogue of Books of a feigned Library, sets down this Title of a Book, *The Morrice-dance of Hereticks*. For indeed every Sect of them hath a diverse posture, or tringe by themselves, which cannot but move derision in Worldlings, and depraved Politicks who are apt to centemn holy things.

As for the *Fruit towards those that are within*. It is *Peace*, which containeth infinite Blessings; it establissheth Faith; it kindleth Charity; the outward peace of the Church distilleth into peace of Conscience; and it turneth the Labours of Writing and Reading of Controversies, into Treatises of *Mortification and Devotion*.

Concerning the *Bonds of Unity*, the true placing of them importeth exceedingly. There appear to be two excrements. For to certain Zealors all speech of pacification is odious. *Is it peace, Jehu? What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me.* Peace is not the matter, but following

lowing a party. Contrariwise certain *Laodiceans*, and luke-warm persons, think they may accommodate points of *Religion* by middle ways, and taking part of both, and wily reconcilements, as if they would make an arbitrement between God and Man. But these extreams are to be avoided; which will be done, if the league of Christians, penned by our Saviour himself, were in the two crosse clauses thereof, soundly and plainly expounded. *He that is not with us, is against us*: And again, *He that is not against us, is with us*? That is, if the points Fundamental, and of Substance in *Religion*, were truly discerned and distinguished from points not meerly of Faith, but of Opinion, Order, or good Intention. This is a thing may seem to many a matter trivial, and done already; but if it were done less partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give only this advice, according to my small model: Men ought to take heed of rending God's Church by two kinds of controversies: The one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife about it, kindled only by contradiction. For, as it is noted by one of the Fathers, *Christ's Coat indeed had no seam, but the Churches Vesture was of divers colours*; whereupon he saith, *In veste varietas sit, scissura non sit*; they be two things, *Unity* and *Uniformity*. The other is, when the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over-great subtilty

subtilty and obscurity, so that it becometh a thing rather ingenious than substantial. A Man that is of judgment and understanding, shall sometimes hear ignorant Men differ, and know well within himself, that those which so differ, mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree. And if it come so to pass, in that distance of judgment which is between Man and Man, shall we not think, that God above, that knows the heart, doth not discern that frail Men in some of their contradictions intend the same thing, and accepteth of both? The nature of such controversies is excellently expressed by Saint Paul, in the warning and precept that he giveth concerning the same, *Devita profanas vocum novitates, & oppositiones falsi nominis scientia*; Men create oppositions which are not, and put them into new terms so fixed, as whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth the meaning. There be also two false *Peaces*, or *Unities*; the one, when the *Peace* is grounded but upon an implicate ignorance; for all Colours will agree in the dark: the other when it is pieced up upon a direct admission of contraries in Fundamental points. For Truth and Falshood in such things, are like the Iron and Clay in the ages of Nebuchadnezzars *Image*, they may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

Concerning the *Means* of procuring *Unity*; Men must beware, that in the procuring or muniting of *Religious Unity*, they do not dissolve and deface

deface the Laws of Charity, and of Human Society. There be two Swords amongst Christians, the Spiritual and Temporal; and both have their due office and place in the maintenance of Religion. But we may not take up the third Sword, which is *Mahomets* Sword, or like unto it; that is, to propagate Religion by Wars, or by sanguinary Persecutions to force Consciences, except it be in cases of overt Scandal, blasphemy or intermixture of practice against the State; much less to nourish Seditions, to authorize Conspiracies and Rebellions, to put the Sword into the peoples hands, and the like, tending to the subversion of all Government, which is the Ordinance of God. For this is but to dash the First Table against the Second, and so to consider Men as Christians, as we forget that they are Men. *Lucretius* the Poet, when he beheld the Act of *Agamemnon*, that could endure the sacrificing of his own Daughter, exclaimed;

*Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum.*

What would he have said, if he had known of the Massacre in France, or the Powder-Treason of England? He would have been seven times more Epicure and Atheist than he was: For as the Temporal Sword is to be drawn with great circumspection in cases of Religion; so it is a thing monstrous, to put it into the hands of the common people. Let that be left unto the Anabaptists, and other Furies. It was great blasphemy,



phemy, when the Devil said, *I will ascend, and be like the Highest*; but it is greater blasphemy to personate God, and bring him in, saying, *I will descend and be like the Prince of Darkness*; And what is it better, to make the cause of Religion to descend to the cruel and execrable actions of Murthering Princes, Butchery of People, and Subversion of States and Governments? Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghost, instead of the likeness of a Dove, in the shape of a Vulture or Raven; and to set out of the Bark of a Christian Church, a Flag of a Bark of Pyrates and Assassins. Therefore it is most necessary, that the Church by Doctrine and Decree, Princes by their Sword, and all Learnings both Christian and Moral, as by their Mercury Rod, do damn and send to Hell for ever those Facts and Opinions, tending to the support of the same, as hath been already in good part done. Surely in Councils concerning Religion, that Counsel of the Apostle would be perfix'd, *Ira hominis non implet justitiam Dei*. And it was a notable observation of a wise Father, and no less ingenuously confessed, *That those which held and perswaded pressure of Consciences, were commonly interess'd therein themselves for their own ends.*

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of



## IV.

*Of Revenge.*

**R** *Evence* is a kind of wild Justice ; which the more Man's Nature runs to, the more ought Law to weed it out. For as to the first wrong, it doth but offend the Law, but the *Revenge* of that wrong putteth the Law out of Office. Certainly in taking *Revenge*, a Man is but even with his Enemy ; but in passing it over he is superior : for it is a Princes part to pardon. And Solomon, I am sure, saith, *It is the Glory of a Man to pass by an offence.* That which is past, is gone, and irrecoverable ; and wise Men have enough to do with things present, and to come : therefore they do but trifle with themselves, that labour in past matters. There is no Man doth a wrong for the wrongs sake, but thereby to purchase himself profit, or pleasure, or honour, or the like. Therefore why should I be angry with a Man for loving himself better than me? And if any man should do wrong meerly out of ill nature, why? yet it is but like the Thorn or Bryar, which prick and scratch, because they can do no other. The most tolerable sort of *Revenge*, is for those wrongs which there is no Law to remedy : But then let a man take heed, that the *Revenge* be such, as there is no Law to punish ; else a Mans Enemy is still before-hand, and it is two for one.

Some

Some when they take *Revenge*, are desirous the Party should know whence it cometh: this is the more generous. For the delight seemeth to be not so much in doing the hurt, as in making the party repent. But base and crafty Cowards are like the Arrow that flieth in the dark. *Cosmus Duke of Florence* had a desperate saying against perfidious or neglecting Friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable: *You shall read* (saith he) *that we are commanded to forgive our Enemies;* but you never read, *that we are commanded to forgive our Friends.* But yet the Spirit of *Job* was in a better tune; *Shall we* (saith he) *take good at God's hand, and not be content to take evil also?* And so of Friends in a proportion. This is certain, that a Man that studieth *Revenge*, keeps his own wounds green, which otherwise would heal, and do well: *Publick Revenges* are for the most part Fortunate, as that for the death of *Cesar*, for the death of *Pertinax*, for the death of *Henry the Third of France*, and many more. But in private *Revenges* it is not so. Nay, rather vindicative persons live the life of *Witches*, who as they are mischievous, so end they unfortunate.

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## V.

*Of Adversity.*

**I**T was an high Speech of *Seneca*, (after the manner of the *Stoicks*) *That the good things which belong to prosperity are to be wished, but the good things that belong to adversity are to be admired: Bonarum secundarum optabilia, adversarum mirabilia.* Certainly, If Miracles be the command over Nature, they appear most in *Adversity*. It is yet a higher speech of his, than the other, (much too high for a Heathen) *It is true greatness to have in one the frailty of a Man, and the security of a God: Vere magnum habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei.* This would have done better in *Poesie*, where transcendencies are more allowed. And the Poets indeed have been busie with it; for it is in effect the thing, which is figured in that strange Fiction of the ancient Poets, which seemeth not to be without mystery; nay, and to have some approach to the State of a Christian: That *Hercules*, when he went to unbind *Prometheus*, (by whom Human Nature is represented) sailed the length of the great Ocean in an Earthen Pot or Pitcher; Lively describing Christian resolution, that saileth in the frail Bark of the Flesh, through the waves of the world. But to speak in a mean: The Vertue of *Prosperity* is *Temperance*, the Vertue of *Adversity* is

is Fortitude, which in Morals is the more heroi-  
cal Vertue. *Prosperity* is the Blessing of the Old  
Testament, *Adversity* is the Blessing of the New,  
which carrieth the greater Benediction, and the  
clearer Revelation of God's favour. Yet even in  
the Old Testament, if you listen to *David's* Harp,  
you shall hear as many Heart-like Ayres, as Ca-  
rols. And the Pencil of the Holy Ghost hath la-  
boured more in describing the Afflictions of *Job*,  
than the Felicities of *Solomon*. *Prosperity* is not  
without many fears and distastes; and *Adversity* is  
not without comforts and hopes. We see in  
Needle-works and Embroyderies, it is more  
pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and so-  
lemn ground, than to have a dark and melan-  
choly Work upon a lightsome ground. Judge  
therefore of the pleasure of the Heart, by the  
pleasure of the Eye. Certainly Vertue is like  
precious Odours, most fragrant when they are  
incensed or crushed: For *Prosperity* doth best  
discover Vice, but *Adversity* doth best discover  
Vertue.

## VI.

*Of Simulation and Dissimulation.*

**D***issimulation* is but a faint kind of Policy or  
Wisdom; for it asketh a strong wit and a  
strong heart, to know when to tell truth, and to  
do it. Therefore it is the weaker sort of Poli-  
ticks, that are the great Dissemblers.

Tacitus

Tacitus saith, *Livia* sorted well with the Arts of her Husband and Dissimulation of her Son; attributing Arts or Policy to *Augustus*, and Dissimulation to *Tiberius*. And again, when *Mucianus* encourageth *Vespasian* to take Arms against *Vitellius*, he saith, *We rise not against the piercing Judgment of Augustus, nor the extream Caution or Closeness of Tiberius*. These properties of Arts, or Policy and Dissimulation, or Closeness, are indeed habits and faculties, several, and to be distinguished. For if a man have that penetration of Judgment, as he can discern, what things are to be laid open, and what to be secreted, and what to be shewed at half lights, and to whom, and when (which indeed are Arts of State, and Arts of Life, as *Tacitus* well calleth them) to him; a habit of Dissimulation is a hindrance, and a poorness. But if a Man cannot attain to that Judgment, then it is left to him generally to be Close, and a Dissembler. For where a man cannot chuse or vary in Particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest way in general; like the going softly by one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest Men that ever were, have had all an openness and frankness of dealing, and a Name of Certainty and Veracity: but then they were like Horses, well managed; for they could tell passing well, when to stop or turn; And at such times, when they thought the case indeed required Dissimulation, if then they used it, it came to pass, that the former Opinion spread abroad of their good faith, and clearness of dealing, made them almost invisible. C There



There are three degrees of this hiding and vailing of Mans self. The first *Clofeness*, *Reservation*, and *Secrecy*, when a Man leaveth himself without observation; or without hold to be taken what he is. The Second *Disimulation* in the *Negative*, when a Man lets fall Signs and Arguments, that he is not that he is. And the third *Simulation* in the *Affirmative*, when a Man industriously and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.

For the first of these, *Secrecy*: It is indeed the vertue of a Confessor; and assuredly the *Secret* Man heareth many Confessions: For who will open himself to a Blab, or a Babler? But if a man be thought *Secret*, it inviteth discovery, as the more close Air sucketh in the more open: And as in confession, the revealing is not for worldly use, but for the ease of a Mans heart; so *Secret*, Men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind; while Men rather discharge their minds, than impart their minds. In few words, Mysteries are due to *Secrecy*. Besides (to say truth) *Nakedness* is uncomely, as well in mind as in body; and it addeth no small reverence to Mens manners and actions, if they be not altogether open. As for Talkers, and Futile persons, they are commonly vain, and credulous withal. For he that talketh what he knoweth, will also talk what he knoweth not. Therefore set it down, that an habit of *Secrecy* is both polittick and moral. And in this part it is good, that a Mans face give his tongue leave to speak. For the



the discovery of Mans self, by the tracts of his countenance, is a great weaknes and betraying, by how much it is many times more marked and believed, than a Mans words.

For the second, which is *Dissimulation*: It followeth many times upon *Secrecy* by a necessity; so that he that will be *Secret*; must be a *Dissembler* in some degree. For men are too cunning, to suffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be *Secret* without swaying the ballance on either side. They will so beset a Man with questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that without an absurd silence, he must shew an inclination one way; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his Silence, as by his Speech. As for Equivocations, or Oraculous Speeches, they cannot hold out long: so that no man can be *Secret*, except he give himself a little scope of *Dissimulation*, which is, as it were, but the skirts or train of *Secrecy*.

But for the third degree, which is *Simulation*, and false profession: That I hold more culpable, and less politick, except it be in great and rare matters. And therefore a general custom of *Simulation* (which is this last degree) is a Vice, rising either of a natural falseness or fearfulness, or of a mind that hath some main faults; which because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise *Simulation* in other things, lest his hand should be out of use.

The great advantages of *Simulation* and *Dissimulation* are three. First, To lay asleep opposi-

tion, and to surprise. For where a Mans intentions are published, it is an alarm to call up all that are against them. The second is, to reserve to a Mans self a fair retreat. For if a man engage himself by a manifest Declaration, he must go through, or take a fall. The third is, the better to discover the mind of another: For to him that opens himself, Men will hardly shew themselves averse, but will (fair) let him go on, and turn their freedom of speech to freedom of thought. And therefore it is a good shrewd Proverb of the Spaniards, *Tell a Lie, and find a Truth*, as if there were no way of discovery, but by *Simulation*.

There be also three disadvantages to set it even. The first, That *Simulation* and *Dissimulation* commonly carry with them a shew of fearfulness, which in any business doth spoil the chances of round lying up to the mark. The second, That it puzzleth and perplexeth the contents of many, that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him, and makes a man walk almost alone to his own ends. The third and greatest is, That it depriveth a man of one of the most principal instruments for action, which is *Trust* and *Belief*. The composition and temperance is, to have *Openness* in fame and opinion, *Secrecy* in habit, *Dissimulation* in seasonable use, and a power to feign, if there be no remedy.

## Of Parents and Children.

**T**HE joys of *Parents* are secret, and so are their griefs and fears; they cannot utter the one, nor they will not utter the other. *Children* sweeten labours, but they make misfortunes more bitter: they increase the cares of Life, but they mitigate the remembrance of Death. The perpetuity by generation is common to *Beasts*; but memory, merit, and noble works are proper to *Men*: and surely a man shall see the noblest Works and Foundations have proceeded from *Childless Men*, which have sought to express the Images of their minds, where those of their bodies have failed. So the care of posterity is most in them that have no posterity. They that are the first raisers of their Houses, are most indolgent towards their *Children*; beholding them as the continuance, not only of their kind, but of their work, and so both *Children* and *Creatures*. The difference in affection of *Parents* towards their several *Children*, is many times unequal, and sometimes unworthy, especially in the *Mother*; as *Solomon* saith, *A wise Son rejoiceth the Father, but an ungracious Son shames the Mother*. A man shall see, where there is a House full of *Children*, one or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest made wantons; but in the midst, some that

where the eldest are

are as it were forgotten, who many times nevertheless prove the best. The illiberality of *Parents* in allowance towards their *Children*, is an harmful error, makes them base, acquaints them with shifts, makes them sort with mean company, and makes them surfeit more when they come to plenty: and therefore the proof is best, when men keep their authority towards their *Children*, but not their purse. Men have a foolish manner (both *Parents*, and *School-Masters*, and *Servants*) in creating and breeding an emulation between *Brothers*, during *Childhood*, which many times forteth to discord when they are men, and disturbeth *Families*. The *Italians* make little difference between *Children* and *Nephews*, or near *Kinsfolks*; but so they be of the lump they care not, though they pass not through their own body. And to say truth, in Nature it is much alike matter, insomuch that we see a *Nephew* sometimes resembleth an *Uncle*, or a *Kinsman*, more than his own *Parent*, as the blood happens. Let *Parents* chuse betimes the vocations and courses they mean their *Children* should take, for then they are most flexible; and let them not too much apply themselves to the disposition of their *Children*, as thinking they will take best to that which they have most mind to. It is true, that if the affection or aptness of the *Children* be extraordinary, then it is good not to cross it: but generally the precept is good, *Optimum est, sequi et sic illud habere, consuevit, quod iunior Fratres* are commonly fortunate, but seldom or never where the *elders* are disinherited. Of

## VIII.

*Of Marriage and Single Life.*

**H**E that hath *Wife and Children*, hath given hostages to Fortune, for they are impediments to great enterprises, either of *Vertue* or *Mischief*. Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit for the publick, have proceeded from the *unmarried* or *Childless Men*, which both in affection and means have married and endowed the publick. Yet it were great reason, that those that have *Children*, should have greatest care of future times, unto which they know they must transmit their dearest pledges. Some there are, who though they lead a *Single Life*, yet their thoughts do end with themselves, and account future times impertinencies. Nay, there are some other, that account *Wife and Children* but as Bills of Charges. Nay, more, there are some foolish rich covetous men, that take pride in having no *Children*, because they may be thought so much the richer. For perhaps they have heard some talk; *Such an one is a great rich Man*; and another except to it, *Yea, but he hath a great charge of Children*; as if it were an abatement to his riches. But the most ordinary cause of a *Single Life* is *Liberty*, especially in certain self-pleasing and humorous minds, which are so sensible of every restraint, as they will go near to think



their Girdles and Garters to be Bonds and Shackles. *Unmarried men* are best Friends, best Masters, best Servants, but not always best Subjects; for they are light to run away, and almost all Fugitives are of that condition. A *single life* doth well with *Church-men*; for *Charity* will hardly water the Ground, where it must first fill a Pool. It is indifferent for *Judges* and *Magistrates*; for if they be facile and corrupt, you shall have a Servant five times worse than a *Wife*. For *Souldiers*, I find the Generals commonly in their hortatives put men in mind of their *Wives* and *Children*. And I think the despising of *Marriage* amongst the *Turks*, making the vulgar *Souldier* more base. Certainly *Wife* and *Children* are a kind of humanity; and *Single men*, though they be many times more charitable, because their means are less exhaust; yet on the other side, they are more cruel and hard hearted, (good to make severe Inquisitors) because their tenderness is not so oft called upon. Grave natures, led by custom, and therefore constant, are commonly loving *Husbands*; as was said of *Ulysses*, *Vetulam suam prætulit immortalitati*. Chast *Women* are often proud and froward, as presuming upon the merit of their chastity. It is one of the best bonds both of chastity and obedience in the *Wife*, if she thinks her *Husband* wise, which she will never do, if she find him *jealous*. *Wives* are young mens *Mistresses*, *Companions* for middle Age, and old mens *Nurses*; so as a man may have a quarrel to marry when he will. But yet  
he

he was reputed one of the wise men, that made answer to the question ; When a man should marry ? *A young man not yet, an elder man not at all.* It is often seen, that bad *Husbands* have very good *Wives* ; whether it be, that it raiseth the price of their *Husbands* kindness when it comes, or that the *Wives* take a pride in their patience. But this never fails, if the bad *Husbands* were of their own chusing, against their Friends consent ; for then they will be sure to make good their own folly.

## IX.

## Of Envy.

**T**H E R E be none of the *Affections*, which have been noted to facinate or bewitch, but *Love* and *Envy*. They both have vehement wishes, they frame themselves readily into imaginations and suggestions ; and they come easily into the eye, especially upon the presence of the objects, which are the points that conduce to fascination, if any such thing there be. We see likewise the Scripture calleth *Envy*, *an evil eye* ; and the *Astrologers* call the evil influences of the Stars, *Evil Aspects* ; so that still there seemeth to be acknowledged in the act of *Envy*, an ejaculation or irradiation of the Eye. Nay, some have been so curious, as to note, that the times, when the stroke or percussion of an *Envious Eye* doth most

most hurt, are, when the *Party envied* is beheld in Glory or Triumph; for that sets an edge upon *Envy*: And besides, at such times the spirits of the *Person envied* do come forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the blow.

But leaving these curiosities, (though not unworthy to be thought on in fit place) we will handle, *What Persons are apt to envy others, what Persons are most subject to be envied themselves, and what is the difference between publick and private Envy.*

A man that hath no virtue in himself, ever *envieth* virtue in others. For mens minds will either feed upon their own good, or upon others evil; and who wanteth the one, will prey upon the other; and who so is out of hope to attain to anothers virtue, will seek to come at even-hand by depressing anothers Fortune.

A man that is busie and inquisitive, is commonly *Envious*: for to know much of other mens matters cannot be, because all that ado may concern his estate; therefore it must needs be, that he taketh a kind of play-pleasure in looking upon the fortunes of others; neither can he that mindeth but his own business, find much matter for *Envy*: For *Envy* is a gadding passion, and walketh the Streets, and doth not keep home, *Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus.*

Men of noble Birth are noted to be *envious* towards new Men when they rise: For the distance is altered, and it is like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on, they think themselves go back,

Deformed

Deformed persons, and Eunuchs, and old Men, and Bastards are *envious*: for he that cannot possibly mend his own case, will do what he can to impair anothers, except these defects light upon a very brave and heroical nature, which thinketh to make his natural wants part of his honour; in that it should be said, that an Eunuch, or lame man, did such great matters, affecting the honour of a miracle, as it was in *Namfes* the Eunuch, and *Agésilas*, and *Tambranes*, that were lame men.

The same is the case of men that rise after calamities and misfortunes; for they are as men fallen out with the times, and think other mens harms a Redemption of their own sufferings.

They that desire to excel in too many matters, out of levity and vain glory, are ever *Envious*; For they cannot want work, it being impossible but many in some one of those things should surpass them; which was the character of *Adrian* the Emperour, that mortally envied *Poets* and *Painters*, and *Artificers* in works wherein he had a vein to excel.

Lastly, near Kinsfolks and Fellows in Office, and those that have been bred together, are more apt to *Envy* their equals, when they are raised: For it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftner into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others; and *Envy* ever redoubleth from Speech and Fame, *Cain's Envy* was the more vile and malignant towards his

Brother

Brother *Abel*, because when his Sacrifice was better accepted, there was no body to look on. Thus much for those that are apt to Envy.

Concerning those that are more or less subject to Envy: First, Persons of eminent virtue, when they are advanced are less envied: For their fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no man envyeth the payment of a Debt, but Rewards and Liberality rather. Again, Envy is ever joyned with the comparing of a man's self; and where there is no comparison, no Envy; and therefore Kings are not envied, but by Kings. Nevertheless it is to be noted, that unworthy persons are most envied at their first coming in, and afterwards overcome it better; whereas contrariwise, Persons of worth and merit are most envied, when their fortune continueth long. For by that time, though their virtue be the same, yet it hath not the same Lustre; for fresh men grow up that darken it.

Persons of noble blood are less envied in their rising; for it seemeth but right done to their Birth. Besides, there seemeth not much added to their fortune; and Envy is as the Sun-beams, that beat hotter upon a Bank or steep rising Ground, than upon a Flat. And for the same reasons, those that are advanced by degrees are less envied, than those that are advanced suddenly, and *per saltum*.

Those that have joyned with their Honour great Travels, Cares or Perils, are less subject to Envy. For men think that they earn their Honours



nourish hardly, and pity them sometimes; and Pity  
ever healeth *Envy*. Wherefore you shall observe,  
that the more deep and sober sort of politick  
Persons in their greatness, are ever bemoaning  
themselves, what a life they lead, chanting  
*Quanta patimur*. Not that they feel it so, but  
only to abate the edge of *Envy*. But this is to be  
understood of business that is laid upon men,  
and not such as they call unto themselves. For  
nothing increaseth *Envy* more than an unneces-  
sary and ambitious engrossing of business; and  
nothing doth extinguish *Envy* more, than for a  
great Person to preserve all other inferior Offi-  
cers in their full rights and preheminencies of  
their places: for by that means there be so many  
Skreens between him and *Envy*.

Above all, those are most subject to *Envy*  
which carry the greatness of their fortunes in  
an insolent and proud manner, being never well  
but while they are shewing how great they are,  
either by outward pomp, or by triumphing over  
all opposition or competition; whereas wise  
men will rather do Sacrifice to *Envy*, in suffering  
themselves sometimes of purpose to be crost and  
over-born of things that do not much concern  
them. Notwithstanding so much is true, That  
the carriage of greatness in a plain and open  
manner (so it be without arrogancy and vain-  
glory) doth draw less *Envy*, than if it be in a  
more crafty and cunning fashion. For in that  
course a man doth but disavow fortune, and  
seemeth to be conscious of his own want in  
worth,

worth, and doth but teach others to *Envy* him.

Lastly, To conclude this part; As we said in the beginning, that the *Act of Envy* had somewhat in it of *witchcraft*, so there is no other cure of *Envy* but the cure of *witchcraft*; and that is, to remove the *Lot* (as they call it) and to lay it upon another. For which purpose, the wiser sort of great Persons, bring in ever upon the Stage some body upon whom to drive the *Envy* that would come upon themselves; sometimes upon Ministers and Servants, sometimes upon Colleagues and Associates, and the like; and for that turn there are never wanting some Persons of violent and undertaking Natures, who, so they may have Power and Business, will take it at any cost.

Now to speak of *publick Envy*. There is yet some good in *publick Envy*; whereas in *private* there is none. For *publick Envy* is an *Ostracism*, that eclipseth men when they grow too great. And therefore it is a bridle also to great ones, to keep them within bounds.

This *Envy* being in the Latine word *Invidia*, goeth in the modern Languages by the name of *Discontentment*, of which we shall speak in handling *Sedition*. It is a disease in a State like to infection; for as infection spreadeth upon that which is sound, and tainteth it; so when *Envy* is gotten once in a State, it traduceth even the best actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill odour. And therefore there is little won by intermingling of plausible actions. For that doth  
argue

argne but a weakness and fear of *Envy*, which hurteth so much the more, as it is likewise usual in *infections*; which if you fear them, you call them upon you.

This *publick Envy* seemeth to bear chiefly upon principal Officers or Ministers, rather than upon Kings and Estates themselves. But this is a sure rule, that if the *Envy* upon the Ministers be great, when the cause of it in him is small; or if the *Envy* be general, in a manner, upon all the Ministers of an Estate, then the *Envy* (though hidden) is truly upon the State it self. And so much of *publick Envy* or *Discontentment*, and the difference thereof from *private Envy*, which was handled in the first place.

We will add this in general, touching the Affection of *Envy*; that, of all other Affections, it is the most importune and continual. For of other Affections there is occasion given but now and then. And therefore it was well said, *Invidia festos dies non agit*. For it is ever working upon some or other. And it is also noted, that *Love* and *Envy* do make a man pine, which other Affections do not; because they are not so continual. It is also the vilest Affection, and the most depraved: for which cause it is the proper Attribute of the Devil, who is called the *envious Man*, that soweth Tares amongst the Wheat by night: as it always cometh to pass, that *Envy* worketh subtilly, and in the dark, and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the *Wheat*.

Of *Love*.

**T**HE Stage is more beholding to *Love*, than the Life of Man. For, as to the Stage, *Love* is even matter of Comedies, and now and then of Tragedies: but in Life it doth much mischief; sometimes like a *Siren*, sometimes like a *Fury*. You may observe, that amongst all the great and worthy persons (whereof the Memory remaineth, either Ancient or Recent) there is not one that hath been transported to the mad degree of *Love*: which shew, that great Spirits, and great Business, do keep out this weak Passion. You must except nevertheless, *Marcus Antonius*, the half Partner of the Empire of *Rome*; and *Appianus Claudius* the *Decemvir*, the Law-giver: whereof the former was indeed a Voluptuous Man, and Inordinate; but the Latter was an Austere and Wise Man. And therefore it seems, (though rarely) that *Love* can find entrance, not only into an open Heart, but also into a Heart well fortified; if watch be not well kept. It is a poor saying of *Epicurus*, *Satis magnum Alteri Alteri Theatrum sumus*. As if Man, made for the contemplation of Heaven, and all noble Objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little Idol, and make himself a Subject, though not of the Mouth (as Beasts are) yet of the

the Eye, which was given him for higher purposes. It is a strange thing to note the Excess of this passion; and how it braves the Nature and Value of things by this, that the speaking in a perpetual *Hyperbole* is comely in nothing but in *Love*. Neither is it meerly in the Phrase: for, whereas it hath been well said, that the Arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty flatterers have intelligence, is a Man's self; certainly, the *Love* is more. For there was never a proud Man thought so abusurdly well of himself, as the *Lover* doth of the Person *Loved*: and therefore it was well said, that *it is impossible to Love, and to be wise*. Neither doth this weakness appear to others only, and not to the Party *Loved*: but to the *Loved* most of all; except the *Love* be reciproque: for it is a true rule, that *Love* is ever rewarded, either with the reciproque, or with an inward and secret Contempt. By how much the more men ought to beware of this Passion, which loseth not only other things, but it self. As for the other losses, the *Poets* Relation doth well figure them; that he that preferreth *Helena*, quitteth the gifts of *Juno* and *Pallas*. For whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous Affection, quitteth both *Riches* and *Wisdom*. This Passion hath his Floods in the very times of weakness: which are great *Prosperity*, and great *Adversity*; though this latter hath been less observed. Both which times kindle *Love*, and make it more frequent, and therefore shew it to be the Child of Folly. They do best, who, if they cannot but admit

D

Love;



*Love*; yet make it keep Quarter, and sever it wholly from their serious Affairs and Actions of Life: for if it check once with Business, it troubleth mens Fortunes, and maketh men that they can no ways be true to their own Ends. I know not how, but martial men are given to *Love*; I think it is but as they are given to *Wine*; for *Perils* commonly ask to be paid in *Pleasures*. There is in a mans Nature a secret Inclination and Motion towards *Love* of others; which if it be not spent upon some one, or a few, doth naturally spread it self towards many, and maketh men become Human and Charitable; as it is seen sometime in *Friars*. *Nuptial Love* maketh *Mankind*; *Friendly Love* perfecteth it; but wanton *Love* corrupteth and embaseth it.

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 XI.

*Of Great Place.*

**M**EN in *Great Place* are thrice Servants: Servants of the Sovereign or State; Servants of *Fame*; and Servants of *Business*. So as they have no Freedom, either in their Persons, nor in their Actions, nor in their Times. It is a strange desire to seek *Power*, and to lose *Liberty*; or to seek *Power* over others, and to lose *Power* over a Mans self. The Rising unto Place is laborious; and by *Pains* men come to greater *Pains*: and it is sometimes base; and by *Indignities*

*Wishes* men come to *Dignities*. The Standing is Slippery, and the Regress is either a Downfall, or at least an Eclipse, which is a melancholy thing. *Cum non sis, qui fueris, non esse, cur velis vivere.* Nay, retire men cannot when they would; neither will they, when it were Reason: but are impatient of Privateness, even in Age and Sickness, which require the Shadow: Like old Townsfolk; that will be still sitting at their Street Door, though thereby they offer Age to Scorn. Certainly Great Persons had need to borrow other mens Opinions, to think themselves happy; for if they judge by their own feeling, they cannot find it: but if they think with themselves what other men think of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy, as it were by report; when perhaps they find the contrary within. For they are the first that find their own griefs, though they be the last that find their own faults. Certainly, Men, in great Fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the puzzle of Business, they have no time to tend their Health, either of body or mind. *Blis Moris gravis incubat, qui noens nimis omnibus, igneus moritur sibi.* In Place, there is licence to do Good and Evil, whereof the latter is a curse, for in Evil, the best condition is not to Will, the second not to Can, But Power to do good, is the true and lawful end of aspiring: for good thoughts (though God accept them,) yet towards Men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in

Act; and that cannot be without Power and Place, as the Vantage and Commanding Ground. Merit and good Works is the end of mans motion; and Conscience of the same is the accomplishment of mans rest: for if a man can be partaker of Gods Theater; he shall likewise be partaker of Gods Rest. *Et conversus Deus, ut aspiiceret opera, qua fecerunt manus sue, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis*; And then the Sabbath. In the Discharge of thy Place, set before thee the best Examples; for Imitation is a Globe of Precepts. And after a time set before thee thine own Example; and examine thy self strictly whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the Examples of those that have carried themselves ill in the same Place: not to set off thy self by taxing their memory; but to direct thy self what to avoid. Reform therefore without bravery or scandal of former Times and Persons; but yet set it down to thy self, as well to create good precedents as to follow them. Reduce things to the first Institution, and observe wherein, and how they have degenerated; but yet ask Counsel of both Times, of the Ancienter Time what is best, and of the Latter Time what is fittest. Seek to make thy Course Regular, that men may know before-hand what they may expect, but be not too positive and peremptory; and express thy self well when thou digressest from thy Rule. Preserve the right of thy Place, but stir not questions of Jurisdiction; and rather assume thy Right in Silence and *de facto*, than voice

voice it with Claims and Challenges. Preserve likewise the Rights of Inferior *Places*; and think it more Honour to direct in chief, than to be busie in all. Embrace and invite Helps and Advices, touching the Execution of thy *Place*: and do not drive away such as bring Information, as medlers, but accept of them in good part. The Vices of *Authority* are chiefly four: *Delays*, *Corruption*, *Roughness* and *Faction*. For *Delays*, Give easie access, Keep Times appointed, Go through with that which is in hand, and interlace not business but of necessity. For *Corruption*, Not only bind thine own hands, or thy Servants hands from taking, but bind the hands of Suitors also from offering: For Integrity used, doth the one; but Integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of Bribery, doth the other; and avoid not only the Fault, but the Suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly, without manifest Cause, giveth suspicion of *Corruption*. Therefore always when thou changest thine opinion or course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together with the Reasons that move thee to change, and do not think to steal it. A Servant, or a Favourite, if he be inward, and no other apparant Cause of Esteem, is commonly thought but a By-way to close *Corruption*. For *Roughness*, It is a needless cause of *Discontent*; *Severity* breedeth Fear, but *Roughness* breedeth Hate. Even Reproofs from Authority ought to be grave, and not taunting. As for *Facility*, It is worse than Bribery: for Bribes

come but now and then; but if Importunity, or idle Respects lead a Man, he shall never be without, as Solomon saith, *To respect Persons is not good; for such a Man will transgress for a piece of bread.* It is most true that was anciently spoken; *A Place sheweth the Man*: and it sheweth some to the better, and some to the worse: *Omnium consensu; capax Imperii, nisi imperasset*; saith Tacitus of Galba: but of Vespasian he saith, *Solus Imperantium Vespasianus mutatus in melius.* Though the one was meant of Sufficiency, the other of Manners and Affection. It is an assured Sign of a worthy and generous Spirit, whom Honour amends: for Honour is, or should be, the place of Vertue; and as in Nature things move violently to their place, and calmly in their place: so Vertue in Ambition is violent, in Authority settled and calm. All rising to Great Place, is by a winding Stair; and if there be Factions, it is good to side a Matter self; whilst he is in the Rising; and to ballance himself when he is placed. Use the memory of thy Predecessor fairly and tenderly; for if thou dost not, it is a debt will sure be paid when thou art gone. If thou have Colleagues, respect them, and rather call them when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reason to look to be called. Be not too sensible, or too remembring of thy Place in Conversation, and private Answers to Suitors; But let it rather be said, *When he sits in Place he is another Man.*



XII.

Of Boldness.

**I**T is a trivial Grammar-School Text, but yet worthy a wise Mans consideration. Question was asked of Demosthenes, *What was the chief part of an Orator?* He answered, *Action*; What next? *Action*; What next again? *Action*; He said it that knew it best, and had by nature himself no advantage in that he commended. A strange thing that that part of an Orator which is but superficial, and rather the virtue of a Player, should be placed so high above those other noble parts of *Invention*, *Eloquence*, and the rest: Nay, almost alone, as if it were All in All. But the reason is plain. There is in Humane Nature generally more of the Fool than of the Wise, and therefore those faculties, by which the foolish part of mens minds is taken are most potent. Wonderful like is the case of Boldness in civill business: What first? *Boldness*; What second and third? *Boldness*. And yet Boldness is a Child of Ignorance and Baseness, far inferior to other parts. But nevertheless it doth fascinate and blind hand and foot, those that are either shallow in judgment, or weak in courage, which are the greatest part, yea, and prevail with wise men at weak times. Therefore we see it hath done Wonders in popular States, but with Senates

and Princes less; and more, ever upon the first entrance of *Bold Persons* into action, than soon after: for *Boldness* is an ill Keeper of Promise. Surely, as there are *Mountebanks* for the Natural Body, so are there *Mountebanks* for the Politick Body: Men that undertake great Cures, and perhaps have been lucky in two or three Experiments, but want the grounds of Science, and therefore cannot hold out. Nay, you shall see a *Bold Fellow* many times do *Mahomet's* miracle: *Mahomet* made the people believe, that he would call an Hill to him; and from the top of it offer up his Prayers for the observers of his Law. The people assembled, *Mahomet* called the Hill to him again and again; and when the Hill stood still, he was never a whit abashed, but said, *If the Hill will not come to Mahamet, Mahomet will go to the Hill*. So these men, when they have promised great matters, and failed most shamefully, yet (if they have the perfection of *Boldness*) they will but slight it over, and make a turn, and no more ado. Certainly to men of great judgment, *Bold persons* are a sport to behold; nay, and to the Vulgar also, *Boldness* hath somewhat of the Ridiculous. For if absurdity be the subject of laughter, doubt you not, but great *Boldness* is seldom without some absurdity. Especially it is a sport to see, when a *Bold Fellow* is out of countenance; for that puts his face into a most shrunken and wooden posture, as needs it must: for in bashfulness the Spirits do a little go and come, but with *Bold men*, upon like occasion, they

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they stand at a stay, like a Stale at Chess, where it is no Mate, but yet the Game cannot stir. But this last were fitter for a Satyr than for a serious Observation. This is well to be weighed, That *Boldness* is ever blind; for it seeth not dangers and inconveniencies; therefore it is ill in Counsel, good in Execution: so that the right use of *Bold* persons is, that they never command in Chief, but be Seconds, and under the direction of others. For in Counsel it is good, so see Dangers, and in Execution not to see them, except they be very great.

XIII.

*Of Goodness, and Goodness of Nature.*

**I** Take *Goodness* in this sence, the affecting of the weal of Men, which is that the *Grecians* call *Philanthropia*; and the Word *Humanity* (as it is used) is a little too light to express it. *Goodness* I call the Habit, and *Goodness of Nature* the Inclination. This of all Vertues and Dignities of the mind is the greatest, being the Character of the Deity; and without it man is a busie, mischievous wretched thing, no better than a kind of Vermin. *Goodness* answers to the *Theological Vertue*, *Charity*, and admits no excess, but error. The desire of power in excess caused the Angels to fall; the desire of knowledge in excess caused Man to fall; but in *Charity* there is no excess,

ness, neither can Angel or Man come in danger by it. The inclination of *Goodness* is imprinted deeply in the nature of man; inasmuch, that if it issue not towards men, it will take unto other living Creatures; as it is seen in the *Turks*, a cruel people, who nevertheless are kind to Beasts, and give Alms to Dogs and Birds: Inasmuch as *Bisbechin* reporteth, a Christian Boy in *Constantinople* had like to have been stoned for gagging, in a waggishness, a long-billed Fowl. Errors indeed, in this Vertue, in *Goodness* or *Charity* may be committed. The *Italians* have an ungracious Proverb, *Tanto buon che val niente; So good that he is good for nothing.* And one of the Doctors of *Italy*, *Nicolas Macchiavel*, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plain terms, *That the Christian Faith had given up good men in prey to those that are tyrannical and unjust:* which he spake, because indeed there was never Law, or Sect, or Opinion, did so much magnifie *Goodness* as the Christian Religion doth: therefore, to avoid the scandal, and danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the errors of an Habit so excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not in bondage to their fates or fancies; for that is but facility or softness, which taketh an honest mind prisoner. Neither give the *Asop's* Cock a Gem, who would be better pleased and happier if he had had a Barly Corn. The Example of God teacheth the Lesson truly: *He sendeth his Rain, and maketh his Sun to shine upon the Just and Unjust; but he doth not rain Wealth,*

nor shine Honour and Virtues upon Men equally. Common Benefits are to be communicated with all; but peculiar benefits with choice. And beware, how in making the *Portraiture*; thou breakest the Pattern; for Divinity maketh the love of our selves the Pattern; the love of our Neighbours but the *Portraiture*. *Sell thou hast and give it to the poor, and follow me*: but sell not all thou hast, except thou come and follow me; that is, except thou have a Vocation; wherein thou mayst do as much good with little means as with great: for other wise, in feeding the Streams thou driest the Fountain. Neither is there only a *Habit of Goodness* directed by right Reason: but there is in some Men, even in Nature, a disposition towards it; as on the other side, there is a natural malignity. For there be that in their Nature do not affect the good of others. The lighter sort of malignity turneth but to crossness, or frowardness, or aptness to oppose, or difficileness, or the like; but the deeper sort to envy and meer mischief. Such men in other mens calamities, are as *it* were in season, and are ever on the loading part; not so good as the Dogs that licked *Abimees* Sores, but like Flies, that are still buzzing upon any thing that is raw; *As Samson*, that made it their practice to bring men to the Sough, and yet have never a Tree for the purpose in their Gardens, as *Timon* had. Such dispositions are the very *Corruptors of Human Nature*; and yet they are the *best Timber* to make great Politicians of: like to *hard Timber*, that



ness, neither can Angel or Man come in danger by it. The inclination of *Goodness* is imprinted deeply in the nature of man; inasmuch, that if it issue not towards men, it will take unto other living Creatures; as it is seen in the *Turks*, a cruel people, who nevertheless are kind to Beasts, and give Alms to Dogs and Birds: Inasmuch as *Buobeckius* reporteth, a Christian Boy in *Constantinople* had like to have been stoned for gagging, in a waggishness, a long-billed Powl. Errors indeed, in this Vertue, in *Goodness* or *Charity* may be committed. The *Italians* have an ungracious Proverb, *Tanto buon che val niente*; So good that he is good for nothing. And one of the Doctors of *Italy*, *Nicolas Macchiavel*, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plain terms, *That the Christian Faith had given up good men in prey to those that are tyrannical and unjust*: which he spake, because indeed there was never Law, or Sect, or Opinion, did so much magnifie *Goodness* as the Christian Religion doth: therefore, to avoid the scandal, and danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the errors of an Habit so excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not in bondage to their fates or fancies; for that is but facility or softness, which taketh an honest mind prisoner. Neither give the *Asop's* Cock a Gem, who would be better pleased and happier if he had had a Barly Corn. The Example of God teacheth the Lesson truly: He sendeth his Rain, and maketh his Sun to shine upon the Just and Unjust; but he doth not rain Wealth,

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that is good for Ships that are ordained to be tossed, but not for building Houses, that shall stand firm. The parts and signs of *Goodness* are many. If a Man be gracious and courteous to Strangers, it shews he is a Citizen of the world, and that his heart is no Island cut off from other Lands, but a Continent that joyns to them. If he be compassionate towards the afflictions of others, it shews that his heart is like the noble Tree, that is wounded it self, when it gives the Balm. If he easily pardons and remits offences, it shews that his mind is planted above Injuries, so that he cannot be shot. If he be thankful for small benefits, it shews that he weighs mens minds, and not their trash. But above all, if he have Saint *Paul's* perfection, that he would wish to be an *Anathema* from Christ, for the Salvation of his Brethren, it shews much of a Divine Nature, and a kind of conformity with *Christ* himself.

## XIV.

*Of Nobility.*

**W**E will speak of *Nobility*, First as a *Portion* of an *Estate*, then as a *Condition* of *Particular Persons*. A *Monarchy*, where there is no *Nobility* at all, is ever a pure and absolute *Tyranny*, as that of the *Turks*, for *Nobility* attempers *Sovereignty*, and draws the eyes of the People

People somewhat aside from the *Line Royal*. But for *Democracies* they need it not: and they are commonly more quiet, and less subject to Sedition, than where there are Stirps of *Nobles*. For mens eyes are upon the business, and not upon the persons; or if upon the persons, it is for the business sake, as fittest, and not for flags and pedigree. We see the *Switzers* last well, notwithstanding their diversity of Religion, and of Cantons: for Utility is their Bond, and not Respects. The United Provinces of the *Low-Countries* in their Government excel: for where there is an equality, the Consultations are more indifferent, and the payments and tributes more cheerful. A great and potent *Nobility* addeth Majesty to a Monarch, but diminisheth Power; and putteth Life and Spirit into the People, but presseth their Fortune. It is well when *Nobles* are not too great for Sovereignty, nor for justice; and yet maintained in that height, as the Insolency of Inferiours may be broken upon them, before it come on too fast upon the Majesty of Kings. A numerous *Nobility* causeth Poverty and inconvenience in a State: for it is a surcharge of expence; and besides, it being of necessity that many of the *Nobility* fall in time to be weak in Fortune, it maketh a kind of Disproportion between Honour and Means.

As for *Nobility* in particular Persons, It is a reverend thing to see an ancient Castle or Building not in decay; or to see a fair Timber Tree sound and perfect: how much more to behold an Ancient

cient *Noble Family*, which hath stood against the Waves and Weathers of Time. For New *Nobility* is but the Act of Power; but Ancient *Nobility* is the Act of Time. Those that are first raised to *Nobility* are commonly more virtuous, but less innocent than their Descendents; for there is rarely any Rising, but by a commixture of good and evil Arts. But it is reason the memory of their Virtues remain to their Posterity; and their faults die with themselves. *Nobility* of Birth commonly abateth Industry; and he that is not industrious, envieth him that is. Besides, *Noble Persons* cannot go much higher; and he that standeth at a stay when others rise, can hardly avoid motions of Envy. On the other side, *Nobility* extinguisheth the Passive Envy from others towards them; because they are in possession of Honour. Certainly Kings that have able Men of their *Nobility*, shall find ease in employing them, and a better slide into their business: for people naturally bend to them, as born in some sort to command.

## XV.

*Of Seditions and Troubles.*

**S**hepherds of People had need know the *Kalenders of Tempests in State*; which are commonly greatest when things grow to equality; as natural *Tempests* are greatest about the *Equinoctia*.



*noſſia.* And as there are certain hollow blaſts of Wind, and ſecret ſwellings of Seas before a Tempeſt, ſo are there in States.

*Ille etiam coccos inſtare Tumultus*

*Sape monet, Fraudeſque & operta cumeſcere Bella.*

Libels and Licentious Diſcourſes againſt the State, when they are frequent and open; and in like fort, falſe News often running up and down to the diſadvantage of the State, and haſtily embraced; are amongſt the Signs of Troubles. *Virgil* giving the pedigree of Fame, ſaith, *She was Siſter to the Giants.*

*Illam Terra Parens ira irritata Deorum,*

*Extremam (us. perhibens) Cae Enceladoque*

*ſororem*

*Progeniit.*

As if Fames were the Reliques of Seditious paſt; but they are no leſs indeed, the Preludes of Seditions to come. Howſoever he noteth it right, That Seditious Tumults, and Seditious Fames, differ no more but as Brother and Siſter, Maſculine and Feminine; eſpecially if it come to that, that the beſt Actions of a State, and the moſt plauſible, and which ought to give greateſt contentment, are taken in ill ſenſe, and traduced: for that ſhews the envy great, as *Tacitus* ſaith, *Conſtata magna Invidia, ſeu bene, ſeu male, geſta premunt.* Neither doth it follow, that becauſe theſe

these *Fumes* are a sign of *Troubles*, that the suppressing of them with too much severity, should be a Remedy of *Troubles*: for the despising of them many times checks them best; and the going about to stop them, doth but make a Wonder long-liv'd.

Also that kind of obedience which *Tacitus* speaketh of is to be held suspected; *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent mandata Imperantium interpretari, quam exequi*; Disputing, Excusing, Cavilling upon Mandates and Directions, is a kind of shaking off the yoke, and assay of disobedience; especially, if in those Disputings, they which are for the direction, speak fearfully and tenderly; and those that are against it audaciously.

Also, as *Machiavel* noteth well; when Princes, that ought to be common Parents, make themselves as a Party, and lean to a side, it is a Boat that is overthrown by uneven weight on the one side; as was well seen in the time of *Henry the third of France*: for first himself entred League for the extirpation of the *Protestants*, and presently after the same League was turned upon himself: for when the Authority of Princes is made but an Accessary to a Cause, and that there are other Bands that tie faster than the Band of Sovereignty, Kings begin to be almost put out of possession.

Also, when Discords, and Quarrels, and Factions are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the Reverence of Government is lost. For  
the

the Motions of the greatest Persons in a Government, ought to be as the motions of the Planets under *Primum Mobile* (according to the old Opinion: ) which is, that every of them is carried swiftly by the highest Motion, and softly in their own Motion. And therefore when great Ones in their own particular Motion move violently; and as *Tacitus* expresseth it well, *Liberius quam ut Imperantium meminissent*, it is a sign the Orbs are out of Frame: for Reverence is that wherewith Princes are girt from God, who threatneth the dissolving thereof; *Solvam cingula Regum*.

So when any of the four Pillars of Government are mainly shaken or weakned, (which are *Religion, Justice, Counsel, and Treasure*) Men had need to pray for fair weather.

But let us pass from this part of Predictions (concerning which, nevertheless, more light may be taken from that which followeth) and let us speak first of the *Materials* of Seditions; then of the *Motives* of them; and thirdly, of the *Remedies*.

Concerning the *Materials* of Seditions; It is a thing well to be considered: For the surest way to prevent *Seditions* (if the times do bear it) is to take away the matter of them. For if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The *Matter* of *Seditions* is of two kinds; *much Poverty* and *much Discontentment*. It is certain, so many *Overthrown Estates*, so many votes for *Troubles*, *Lucan* noteth well the *State* of *Rome* before the *Civil War*.

*Hinc Usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore Fannus,  
Hinc concussa Fides, & multis utile Bellum.*

This same *multis utile Bellum* is an assured and infallible sign of a State disposed to *Seditions* and *Troubles*. And if this *Poverty* and broken Estate in the better sort, be joyned with a want and necessity in the mean People, the danger is imminent and great; for the *Rebellions* of the *Belly* are the worst. As for *Discontentments*, they are in the Politick Body like to *Humours* in the Natural, which are apt to gather preter-natural Heat, and to enflame. And let no Prince measure the danger of them by this, whether they be just or unjust: for that were to imagine People to be too reasonable, who do often spurn at their own good: nor yet by this, whether the *Griefs* whereupon they rise, be in fact great or small: for they are the most dangerous *Discontentments*, where the fear is greater than the feeling. *Dolendi modus, Timendi non item.* Besides, in great *Oppressions*, the same things that provoke the *Patience*, do withal mate the courage; but in *Fears* it is not so. Neither let any Prince or State be secure concerning *Discontentments* because they have been often, or have been long, and yet no *Peril* hath ensued; for as it is true, that every *Vapour* or *Fume* doth not turn into a *Storm*: So it is nevertheless true, that *Storms*, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last: and as the *Spanish Proverb* noteth well;

well; *The Cord breaketh at the Left by the weakest part.*

The Causes and Motions of Seditions are, *innovation in Religion, Taxes, Alteration of Laws and Customs, breaking of Priviledges, General Oppression, Advancement of unworthy Persons, Strangers, Deaths, Disbanded Souldiers, Factions grown desperate.* And whatsoever in offending People, joyneth and knitteth them in a Common Cause.

For the Remedies; there may be some general Preservatives whereof we will speak; as for the just Cure, it must answer to the particular Disease, and so be left to Counsel rather than Rule.

The first Remedy or Prevention is, to remove by all means possible that *Material Cause* of Sedition, whereof we speak; which is *Want and Poverty* in the Estate. To which purpose serveth the Opening and well Ballancing of Trade, the Cherishing of Manufactures, the Banishing of Idleness, the Repressing of Waste and Excess by Sumptuary Laws, the Improvement and Husbanding of the Soyl, the Regulating of Prices of Things vendible, the Moderating of Taxes and Tributes, and the like. Generally it is to be foreseen, that the Population of a Kingdom (especially if it be not mowen down by Wars) do not exceed the Stock of the Kingdom, which should maintain them. Neither is the Population to be reckoned only by number; for a smaller number that spend more, and earn less, do wear out an Estate sooner than a greater number that



live lowen, and gather more. Therefore the multiplying of Nobility, and other Degrees of Quality, in an over Proportion to the Common People, doth speedily bring a State to Necessity: and so doth likewise an overgrown Clergy, for they bring nothing to the Stock. And in like manner, when more are bred Scholars than Preferments can take off.

It is likewise to be remembered, that forasmuch as the increase of any Estate must be upon the Foreigners; (for whatsoever is somewhere gotten, is somewhere lost.) There be but three things, which one Nation selleth unto another; the *Commodity* as Nature yieldeth it; the *Manufacture* and the *Victure* or *Carriage*: So that if these three Wheels go, Wealth will flow as in a Spring-tide. And it cometh many times to pass, that *Materiam superabit Opus*; that the Work and Carriage is more worth than the Materials, and enricheth a State more: as is notably seen in the *Low Country-men*, who have the best Mines above Ground in the World.

Above all things good Policy is to be used, that the Treasure and Moneys in a State be not gathered into few Hands. For otherwise a State may have a great Stock, and yet starve. And Money is like Muck, not good except it be spread. This is done chiefly by suppressing, or at the least keeping a straight hand upon the Devouring Trades of *Usury*, *Ingrossing*, great *Pasturages*, and the like.

For removing *Discontentments*, onat least the danger of them, there is in every State (as we know) two portions of *Subjects*, the *Nobles* and the *Commonalty*. When base of this is *Discontent*, the danger is not great; for common people are of slow motion, if they be not excited by the greater sort; and the greater sort are of small strength, except the multitude be apt and ready to move of themselves. Then is this the danger, when the greater sort do but wait for the troubling of the Waters amongst the meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The Poets feign, that the rest of the Gods would have bound *Jupiter*; which he hearing of, by the Counsel of *Pallas*, sent for *Briareus* with his hundred hands, to come in to his aid. An Emblem no doubt, to shew how safe it is for Monarchs to make sure of the good will of common people.

To give moderate liberty for *Griefs* and *Discontentments* to evaporate (so it be without too great Insolency or bravery) is a safe way. For he that turneth the Humours back, and maketh the Wound bleed inwards, endangereth malign Ulcers, and pernicious Impostumations. The part of *Epimetheus* might well become *Prometheus* in the case of *Discontentments*; for there is not a better provision against them. *Epimetheus*, when *Griefs* and evils flew abroad, at last shut the Lid, and kept Hope in the bottom of the Vessel. Certainly the politick and artificial nourishing and entertaining of *Hope*, and

carrying men from *Hopes* to *Hopes*, is one of the best Antidotes against the Poyson of *Discontentments*. And it is a certain sign of a wise Government and Proceeding, when it can hold mens hearts by *Hopes*, when it cannot by satisfaction; and when it can handle things in such manner, as no evil shall appear so peremptory, but that it hath some out-let of *Hope*: which is the less hard to do, because both particular Persons and Factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave that which they believe not.

Also the fore-sight and prevention, that there be no likely or fit Head, whereunto *Discontented Persons* may resort, and under whom they may joyn, is a known, but an excellent point of caution. I understand a fit Head to be one that hath Greatness and Reputation, that hath Confidence with the *Discontented Party*, and upon whom they turn their eyes; and that is thought *Discontented* in his own particular; which kind of Persons are either to be won, and reconciled to the State, and that in a fast and true manner; or to be fronted with some other of the same Party that may oppose them, and so divide the Reputation. Generally the dividing and breaking of all Factions and Combinations that are adverse to the State, and setting them at distance, or at least distrust among themselves, is not one of the worst *Remedies*. For it is a desperate case, if those that hold with the proceeding of the State, be full of Discord and Faction; and those that are against it, be entire and united.

I have noted, that some witty and sharp Speeches, which have fallen from *Princes*, have given fire to *Seditions*. *Casar* did himself infinite hurt in that Speech, *Sylla nescire literas, non potuit dicere*: for it did utterly cut off that Hope which men had entertained, that he would at one time or other give over his Dictatorship. *Galba* undid himself by that Speech, *Legi a se militem non emi*, for it put the Soldiers out of Hope of the Donative. *Probus* likewise by that speech, *Si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano Imperio militibus*: A Speech of great despair for the Soldiers: And many the like. Surely *Princes* had need, in tender matters, and ticklish times, to beware what they say; especially in these short Speeches, which fly abroad like Darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret Intentions. For as for large Discourses, they are flat things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, Let *Princes* against all Events not be without some great Person, one, or rather more, of Military Valour near unto them, for the repressing of *Seditions* in their beginnings. For without that, there useth to be more trepidation in Court, upon the first breaking out of *Troubles*, than were fit. And the State runneth the danger of that, which *Tacitus* saith; *Atque is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur*. But let such Military Persons be assured, and well reputed of, rather than Factious and Popular, holding also good correspondence with the other

great Men in the State, or else the Remedy is worse than the Disease.

## XVI.

*Of Atheism.*

I Had rather believe all the Fables in the Legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this Universal Frame is without a Mind. And therefore God never wrought a Miracle to convince *Atheism*, because his ordinary Works convince it. It is true, that a little Philosophy inclineth Mans mind to *Atheism*, but depth in Philosophy bringeth Mens minds about to *Religion*, for while the mind of man looketh upon second Causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no further: but when it beholdeth the Chain of them Confederate and Linked together, it must needs fly to *Providence* and *Deity*. Nay, even that School which is most accused of *Atheism*, doth most demonstrate *Religion*: That is, the School of *Leucippus* and *Democritus*, and *Epicurus*. For it is a thousand times more credible, that four mutable Elements, and one immutable fifth Essence, duly and eternally placed, need no God, than that an Army of infinite small Portions, or Seeds unplaced, should have produced this order and beauty without a Divine Marshal. The Scripture saith, *The Fool hath said in his heart, there is no God*: It is not said, *The*



The fool hath thought in his heart : So as he rather saith it by rote to himself, as that he would have, than that he can thoroughly believe it, or be persuaded of it. For none deny there is a God, but those for whom it maketh that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more, that *Atheism* is rather in the *Lip*, than in the *Heart* of Man, than by this ; That *Atheists* will ever be talking of that their Opinion, as if they fainted in it within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthened by the consent of others. Nay more, you shall have *Atheists* strive to get *Disciples*, as it saith with other Sects. And, which is most of all, you shall have of them that will suffer for *Atheism* and not recant ; whereas if they did truly think, that there were no such thing as God, why should they trouble themselves ? *Epicurus* is charged, that he did but dissemble for his credits sake, when he affirmed, there were *Blessed Natures*, but such as enjoyed themselves, without having respect to the Government of the World : wherein, they say, he did temporize ; though in secret he thought there was no God. But certainly he is traduced ; for his Words are Noble and Divine ; *Non Deos vulgi negare profanum, sed vulgi Opiniones Diis applicare profanum*. Plato could have said no more. And although he had the confidence to deny the *Administration*, he had not the power to deny the *Nature*. The *Indians* of the *West* have names for their particular gods, though they have no name for God ; as if the *Heathens* should have had

had the names of *Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c.* but not the word *Deus*: which shews, that even those barbarous People have the notion, though they have not the latitude and extent of it. So that against *Atheist* the very Savages take part with the very subtlest Philosophers: The Contemplative *Atheists* is rare: A *Diogenes*, a *Bion*, a *Lucian* perhaps, and some others; and yet they seem to be more than they are: For that all that impugn a received Religion or Superstition, are by the adverse part branded with the name of *Atheists*. But the great *Atheists* indeed are *Hypocrites*, which are ever handling Holy things, but without feeling; so as they must needs be cat-  
 terized in the end. The Causes of *Atheism* are Divisions in Religion, if they be many: for any one main Division addeth Zeal to both sides, but many Divisions introduce *Atheism*. Another is, Scandal of Priests, when it is come to that which Saint Bernard saith, *Non est jam dicere, ut populus, sic sacerdos: quia nec sic populus, ut sacerdos*. A third is, Custom of *Prophane Scoffing* in Holy Matters, which doth by little and little deface the Reverence of Religion. And lastly, *Learned Times*, especially with peace and prosperity: for troubles and adversities do more bow Mens minds to Religion. They that deny a God, destroy Mans Nobility: for certainly Man is of kin to the Beasts by his Body; and if he be not of kin to God by his Spirit; he is a base and ignoble Creature. It destroys likewise Magnanimity, and the raising Humane Nature:

ture: for take an example of a Dog, and mark what a generosity and courage he will put on, when he finds himself maintained by a Man, who to him is instead of a God, or *Melior natura*: Which courage is manifestly such, as that Creature without the confidence of a better Nature than his own, could never attain. So Man, when he resteth and assureth himself upon Divine protection and favour, gathereth a force and faith, which Human Nature in it self could not obtain. Therefore as *Atheism* is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human Nature of the means to exalt it self above Human Frailty. As it is in particular Persons, so it is in Nations. Never was there such a State for Magnanimity, as *Rome*. Of this State hear what *Cicero* saith, *Quam volumus, licet, Patres Conscripti, nos amemus, tamen neq. numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Penos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hinc ipso hujus Gentis & Terra domestico natioque sensu Italos ipsos & Latinos, sed Pietate ac Religione, atque hac una Sapientia, quod Deorum Inmutabilium Numina, omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes Gentes Nationesque superavimus.*

## XVII.

## Of Superstition.

**I**T were better to have no opinion of God at all, than such an opinion as is unworthy of him: For the one is Unbelief, the other is Contumely; and certainly Superstition is the reproach of the Deity. Plutarch saith well to that purpose: Surely (saith he) I had rather a great deal men should say, there was no such man at all as Plutarch, than that they should say, that there was one Plutarch, that would eat his Children as soon as they were born; as the Poets speak of Saturn. And as the Contumely is greater towards God; so the Danger is greater towards Men. *Atheism* leaves a man to Sense; to Philosophy, to Natural Piety, to Laws, to Reputation; all which may be guides to an outward Moral Vertue, though Religion were not; But *Superstition* dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute Monarchy in the minds of Men. Therefore *Atheism* did never perturb States; for it makes men weary of themselves, as looking no further: And we see the times inclined to *Atheism* (as the time of Augustus Caesar) were civil times. But *Superstition* hath been the Confusion of many States, and bringeth in a new *Primum Mobile*, that ravisheth all the Spheres of Government. The Master of *Superstition* is the People; and in all *Superstition*,

tion, Wise men follow Fools, and Arguments are fitted to Practice in a reversed order. It was gravely said by some of the Prelates in the Council of Trent, where the Doctrine of the School-men bare great sway, That the School-men were like Astronomers, which did feign Eccentricks, and Epicycles, and such engines of Orbs, to save the Phenomena; though they knew there were no such things. And in like manner, that the School-men had framed a number of subtile and intricate Axioms and Theorems, to save the practice of the Church. The Causes of Superstitions are, pleasing and sensual Rites and Ceremonies: Excess of Outward and Pharisaical Holiness: Over-great Reverence of Traditions, which cannot but load the Church: the Stratagems of Prelates for their own Ambition and Lucre: the favouring too much of good Intentions, which openeth the Gate to Conceits and Novelties: the taking an Aim at Divine Matters by Human, which cannot but breed mixture of Imaginations: And lastly, Barbarous Times, especially joyned with Calamities and Disasters. Superstition without a veil is a deformed thing; for, as it addeth deformity to an Ape to be so like a Man: so the similitude of Superstition to Religion makes it the more deformed. And as wholesome Meat corrupteth to little Worms: so good Forms and Orders corrupt into a Number of petty Observances. There is a Superstition in avoiding Superstition, when men think to do best, if they go furthest from the Superstition formerly received.

Therefore



Therefore Care would be had, that (as it fareth in ill Purgings) the good be not taken away with the bad, which commonly is done, when the People is the Reformer.

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## XVIII.

*Of Travel.*

**T**RAVEL, in the younger Sort, is a part of Education; in the elder, a part of Experience. He that *Travelleth* into a Country before he hath some Entrance into the Language, goeth to *School* and not to *Travel*. That young men *Travel* under some Tutor, or grave Servant, I allow well, so that he be such a one that hath the Language, and hath been in the Countrey before, whereby he may be able to tell them, what things are worthy to be seen in the Countrey where they go, what Acquaintances they are to seek, what Exercises or Discipline the Place yieldeth. For else young men shall go hooded, and look abroad little. It is a strange thing, that in *Sea-voyages*, where there is nothing to be seen but Sky and Sea, men should make Diaries; but in *Land-Travel*, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it; as if Chance were siter to be registred than Observation. Let Diaries therefore be brought in use. The things to be seen and observed are the Courts of Princes, especially when they give Audience

dience to Embassadors: The Courts of Justice, while they sit and hear Causes; and so of Consistories Ecclesiastick: the Churches and Monasteries, with the Monuments which are therein extant: the Walls and Fortifications of Cities and Towns; and so the Havens and Harbors: Antiquities and Ruins: Libraries, Colleges, Disputations and Lectures, where any are: Shipping and Navies: Houses and Gardens of State and Pleasure near great Cities: Armories, Arsenals, Magazines, Exchanges, Burses, Ware-houses: Exercises of Horsemanship, Fencing, Training of Souldiers, and the like: Comedies, such whereunto the better sort of Persons do resort. Treasures of Jewels and Robes: Cabinets and Rarities. And to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the Places where they go. After all which the Tutors or Servants ought to make diligent enquiry. As for Triumphs, Masques, Feasts, Weddings, Funerals, Capital Executions, and such Shews; Men need not to be put in mind of them; yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have a young man to put his *Travel* into a little room, and in short time to gather much, this you must do. First, as we said, he must have some entrance into the Language before he goeth. Then he must have such a Servant or Tutor as knoweth the Countrey, as was likewise said. Let him carry with him also some Card or Book, describing the Countrey where he *Travellereth*, which will be a good key to his Enquiry. Let him keep also a Diary. Let him not stay long

long in one City or Town, more or less, as the Place deserveth, but not long: Nay, when he stayeth in one City or Town, let him change his Lodging from one end and part of the Town to another, which is a great Adamant of Acquaintance. Let him sequester himself from the Company of his Country-men, and diet in such Places where there is good Company of the Nation where he *Travelleth*. Let him upon his Removes from one Place to another, procure recommendation to some Person of Quality, residing in the Place whither he removeth, that he may use his Favour in those things he desireth to see or know. Thus he may abridge his *Travels* with much profit. As for the Acquaintance which is to be sought in *Travel*, that which is most of all profitable, is Acquaintance with the Secretaries and employed Men of Embassadors; for so in *Travelling* in one Country, he shall suck the experience of many. Let him also see and visit eminent Persons, in all kinds, which are of great Name abroad; that he may be able to tell how the Life agreeth with the Fame. For Quarrels, they are with Care and Discretion to be avoided: They are commonly for Mistresses, Healths, Place, and Words. And let a Man beware how he keepeth Company with Cholerick and Quarrellsome Persons, for they will engage him into their own Quarrels. When a *Traveller* returneth home, let him not leave the Countries where he hath *Travelled*, altogether behind him, but maintain a Correspondency by Letters with those of his Acquaintance

quaintance which are of most worth. And let his *Travel* appear rather in his Discourse, than in his Apparel or Gesture; and in his Discourse let him be rather advised in his Answers, than forward to tell Stories. And let it appear, that he doth not change his Country Manners for those of Foreign Parts; but only prick in some Flowers of that he hath learned abroad, into the Customs of his own Country.

## XIX.

## Of Empire.

**I**T is a miserable State of Mind, to have few things to desire, and many things to fear, and yet that commonly is the Case of *Kings*, who being at the highest, want matter of desire, which makes their minds more languishing, and have many Representations of Perils and Shadows, which makes their minds the less clear. And this is one reason also of that effect which the Scripture speaketh of; *That the King's heart is inscrutable.* For, multitude of Jealousies, and lack of some predominant desire that should marshal and put in order all the rest, maketh any Mans heart hard to find or sound. Hence it comes likewise, that *Princes* many times make themselves Desire, and set their Hearts upon Toys: sometimes upon a Building, sometimes upon erecting of an Order, sometimes upon

the advancing of a Person, sometimes upon obtaining excellency in some Art or Feat of the Hand; as *Nero* for playing on the Harp, *Domitian* for Certainty of the Hand with the Arrow, *Commodus* for playing at Fence, *Caracalla* for driving Chariots, and the like. This seemeth incredible unto those that know not the principal; That the mind of Man is more cheered and refreshed by profusing in small things, than by standing at a stay in great. We see also that the Kings that have been fortunate Conquerours in their first years, it being not possible for them to go forward infinitely, but that they must have some check or arrest in their Fortunes, turn in their latter years to be Superstitious and Melancholy: as did *Alexander* the Great, *Dionysius*; and in our memory, *Charles* the Fifth, and others: For he that is used to go forward, and findeth a stop, falleth out of his own favour, and is not the thing he was.

To speak now of the true Temper of Empire; It is a thing rare, and hard to keep; for both Temper and Distemper consist of Contraries. But it is one thing to mingle Contraries, another to enterchange them. The Answer of *Apollonius* to *Vespasian* is full of excellent Instruction; *Vespasian* asked him, What was *Nero's* overthrow? He answered, *Nero* could touch and tune the Harp well, but in Government sometimes he used to wind the pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low. And certain it is, that nothing destroyeth Authority so much, as the unequal and untimely



untimely interchange of Power Pressed too far, and Relaxed too much.

This is true, that the Wisdom of all these latter Times in *Princes* Affairs, is rather fine Deliveries, and Shiftings of Dangers and Mischies, when they are near, than solid and grounded Courses to keep them aloof. But this is but to try Masteries with Fortune: and let men beware how they neglect and suffer matter of Trouble to be prepared: for no man can forbid the spark, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in *Princes* Business are many and great; but the greatest difficulty is often in their own mind. For it is common with *Princes* (saith *Tacitus*) to will Contradictories. *Sunt plerumque Regum voluntates vehementes, & inter se contraria.* For it is the Solecism of Power, to think to Command the end, and yet not endure the means.

*Kings* have to deal with their *Neighbours*, their *Wives*, their *Children*, their *Prelates* or *Clergie*, their *Nobles*, their *Second Nobles* or *Gentlemen*, their *Merchants*, their *Commons*, and their *Men of War*. And from all these arise Dangers, if Care and Circumspection be not used.

First, For their *Neighbours*: There can no general Rule be given (the occasions are so variable) save one, which ever holdeth, which is, That *Princes* do keep due Centinel, that none of their *Neighbours* do over-grow so, (by increasing of Territory, by embracing of Trade, by Approaches, or the like) as they become more able to annoy them, than they were. This is generally

rally the work of standing Counsels to foresee, and to hinder it. During that *Triumvirate* of *Kings*, King Henry the 8. of England, Francis the 1. King of France, and Charles the 5. Emperour, there was such a Watch kept, that none of the Three could win a Palm of Ground, but the other Two would straight-ways ballance it, either by Confederation, or if need were, by a War, and would not in any wise take up Peace at Interest. And the like was done by that League, (which, *Guicciardine* saith, was the Security of *Italy*), made between *Ferdinando* King of Naples, *Lorenzins Medices*, and *Ludovicus Sforza*, Potentate, the one of *Florence*, the other of *Milain*. Neither is the opinion of some of the School-men to be received; That a War cannot justly be made but upon a precedent Injury or Provocation. For there is no question, but a just Fear of an imminent Danger, though there be no Blow given, is a lawful Cause of a War.

For their Wives: There are cruel examples of them. *Livia* is infamed for the poysoning of her Husband: *Roxalana*, *Solyman's* Wife, was the destruction of that renowned Prince, *Sultan Mustapha*, and otherwise troubled his House and Succession: *Edward* the Second of *England*, his Queen had the principal hand in the deposing and murder of her Husband. This kind of danger is then to be feared, chiefly when the Wives have Plots for the raising of their own Children, or else that they be Advoutresses.

For their Children: The Tragedies likewise of dangers from them have been many. And generally the entering of Fathers into suspicion of their Children, hath been ever unfortunate. The destruction of *Mustapha* (that we named before) was so fatal to *Solyman's* Line, as the Succession of the *Turke* from *Solyman* until this day, is suspected to be untrue; and of strange blood; for that *Selymus* the second was thought to be supposititious. The destruction of *Crispian*, a young Prince, of rare towardness, by *Constantinus* the Great, his Father, was in like manner fatal to his House; for both *Constantinus* and *Constantine* his Son died violent Deaths; and *Constantinus* his other Son did little better, who died in deed of Sickness, but after that *Julianus* had taken Arms against him. The destruction of *Demetrius*, Son to *Philip* the Second of *Macedonia*, turned upon the Father, who died of Repentance. And many like Examples there are, but few or none where the Fathers had good by such distrust, except it were where the Sons were up in open Arms against them; as was *Selymus* the first against *Bajazet*, and the three Sons of *Henry* the Second, King of *England*.

For their Prelates: When they are proud and great, there is also danger from them; as it was in the times of *Anselmus* and *Thomas Becket*, Arch-Bishops of *Canterbury*, who with their Crossiers did almost try it with the Kings Sword; and yet they had to deal with stout and haughty Kings; *William Rufus*, *Henry* the First, and

*Henry the Second.* The danger is not from the *State*; but where it hath a dependance of Foreign Authority; or where the Church-men come in, and are elected, not by the collation of the King, or particular Patrons, but by the People.

For their *Nobles*: To keep them at a distance it is not amiss, but to depress them may make a King more absolute, but less safe, and less able to perform any thing that he desires. I have noted it in my History of King *Henry the Seventh*, of *England*, who depressed his *Nobility*; whereupon it came to pass, that his times were full of Difficulties and Troubles; for the *Nobility*, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his business; so that in effect he was faine to do all things himself.

For their *Second Nobles*: There is not much danger from them, being a Body dispersed. They may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little hurt. Besides they are a counterpoize to the higher *Nobility*, that they grow not too potent: and lastly, being the most immediate in Authority with the Common People, they do best temper popular Commotions.

For their *Merchants*: They are *Vena porta*; and if they flourish not, a Kingdom may have good Limbs, but will have empty Veins, and nourish little. Taxes and Imposts upon them, do seldom good to the King's Revenue; for that he wins in the Hundred, he leese in the Shire; the

the particular Rates being increased, but the total bulk of Trading rather decreased.

For their *Commons*: There is little danger from them, except it be where they have great and potent Heads, or where you meddle with the point of Religion, or their Customs, or means of Life.

For their *Men of War*: It is a dangerous State, where they live and remain in a Body, and are used to Donatives, whereof we see examples in the *Janizaries* and *Pretorian Bands* of *Rome*: But Trainings of Men, and Arming them in several places, and under several Commanders, and without Donatives, are things of Defence, and no danger.

Princes are like to *Heavenly Bodies*, which cause good or evil times; and which have much Veneration, but no Rest. All Precepts concerning Kings, are in effect comprehended in those two Remembrances, *Memento quod es Homo*, and *Memento quod es Deus*, or *Vice Dei*; the one bridles their Power, and the other their Will.

XX.

Of Counsel.

THE greatest trust between Man and Man is the trust of *Giving Counsel*: For in other confidences Men commit the parts of Life, their Lands, their Goods, their Children, their Credit, some particular Affair: but to such as they make



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their *Counsellors*, they commit the whole, by how much the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity. The wisest *Princes* need not think it any diminution to their Greatness, or derogation to their Sufficiency, to rely upon *Counsel*. God himself is not without, but hath made it one of the great Names of his blessed Son: The *Counsellor*. *Solomon* hath pronounced, that in *Counsel* is *Stability*. Things will have their first or second agitation; if they be not tossed upon the arguments of *Counsel*, they will be tossed upon the waves of *Fortune*, and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. *Solomon's* Son found the force of *Counsel*, as his Father saw the necessity of it. For the beloved Kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill *Counsel*; upon which *Counsel* there are set for instruction the two marks, whereby *Bad Counsel* is for ever best discerned, that it was *partial Counsel* for the Persons; and *violent Counsel* for the Matter.

The ancient times do set forth in figure, both the incorporation, and inseparable conjunction of *Counsel* with *Kings*, and the wise and politick use of *Counsel* by *Kings*; the one in that they say, *Jupiter* did marry *Metis*, which signifieth *Counsel*, whereby they intend that *Soveraignty* is married to *Counsel*; the other in that which followeth, which was thus: They say, after *Jupiter* was married to *Metis*, she conceived by him, and was with Child: but *Jupiter* suffered her not to stay till she brought forth, but eat her up; whereby

whereby he became himself with Child, and was delivered of *Pallas Armed* out of his Head; which monstrous Fable containeth a secret of Empire; how *Kings* are to make use of their *Council of State*. That first they ought to refer matters unto them, which is the first begetting or impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the womb of their *Council*, and grow ripe, and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer not their *Council* to go through with the resolution and direction, as if it depended on them; but take the matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the World, that the Decrees and final Directions (which, because they come forth with *Prudence* and *Power*, are resembled to *Pallas Armed*) proceeded from themselves: And not only from their *Authority*, but (the more to add reputation to themselves) from their *Head* and *Device*.

Let us now speak of the *Inconveniences* of *Counsel*, and of the *Remedies*. The *Inconveniences* that have been noted in calling and using *Counsel*, are three: First, the revealing of Affairs, whereby they become less secret. Secondly, the weakning of the Authority of Princes, as if they were less of themselves. Thirdly, the danger of being unfaithfully *Counselled*, and more for the good of them that *Counsel*, than of him that is *Counselled*. For which *Inconveniences*, the Doctrine of *Italy*, and practice of *France* in some *Kings* times, hath introduced *Cabinet Councils*; a Remedy worse than the Disease.

As

As to *Secrecy*: *Princes* are not bound to communicate all matters with all *Counsellors*, but extract and select. Neither is it necessary, that he that consulteth what he should do, should declare what he will do. But let *Princes* beware, that the *unsecreting* of their Affairs comes not from themselves. And as for *Cabinet Counsels*, it may be their *Motto*: *Plenus rimarum sum*: One futile Person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt, than many that know it their duty to conceal. It is true, there be some Affairs which require extream *Secrecy*, which will hardly go beyond one or two Persons beside the King: Neither are those *Counsels* unprosperous; for besides the *Secrecy*, they commonly go on constantly in one Spirit of Direction without distraction. But then it must be a prudent King, such as is able to grind with a *Hand-mill*; and those *Inward Counsellors* had need also be wise Men, and especially true and trusty to the Kings ends; as it was with King *Henry the Seventh*, of *England*, who in his greatest business imparted himself to none, except it were to *Morton* and *Fox*.

For *weakening of Authority*: The Fable sheweth the *Remedy*. Nay, the Majesty of Kings is rather exalted than diminished, when they are in the Chair of *Counsel*. Neither was there ever *Prince* bereaved of his dependencies by his *Counsel*, except where there hath been either an overgreatness in one *Counsellor*, or an over-strict combination in divers, which are things soon found and holpen.

For the last Inconvenience, that Men will Coun-  
 sel with an Eye to themselves: Certainly, *Non in-  
 veniet fidem super terram*, is meant of the nature  
 of times, and not of all particular Persons.  
 There be, that are in nature, faithful, and sin-  
 cere, and plain, and direct, not crafty and in-  
 volved: Let *Princes* above all draw to themselves  
 such natures. Besides *Counsellors* are not com-  
 monly so united, but that one *Counsellor* keepeth  
 Centinel over another; so that if any do Coun-  
 sel, out of faction, or private ends, it commonly  
 comes to the King's Ear. But the best Remedy is,  
 if *Princes* know their *Counsellors*: as well as their  
*Counsellors* know them:

*Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.*

And on the other side, *Counsellors* should not be  
 too speculative into their Sovereigns Person.  
 The true composition of a *Counsellor*, is rather  
 to be skill'd in their Masters Business, than in  
 his Nature; for then he is like to advise him,  
 and not to feed his humour. It is of singular use  
 to *Princes*, if they take the Opinions of their  
*Counsel*, both separately and together. For pri-  
 vate opinion is more free, but opinion before o-  
 thers is more reverend. In private, Men are  
 more bold in their own humours; and in con-  
 sort, Men are more obnoxious to others hu-  
 mours: therefore it is good to take both. And  
 of the inferiour sort, rather in private, to pre-  
 serve freedom; of the greater, rather in consort,

to preserve respect. It is vain for *Princes* to take *Counsel*, concerning *Matters*, if they take no *Counsel* likewise concerning *Persons*; for all *Matters* are as dead Images; and the life of the execution of Affairs resteth in the good choice of *Persons*. Neither is it enough to consult concerning *Persons*, *secundum genera* as in an *Idea* or *Mathematical Description*; what the kind and character of the *Person* should be; for the greatest errors are committed, and the most judgment is shewn in the choice of *Individuals*. It was truly said, *Optimi Consilarii mortui*; *Books* will speak plain when *Counsellors* blanch. Therefore it is good to be conversant in them, especially the *Books* of such as themselves have been *Actors* upon the Stage.

The *Councils* at this day in most places are but familiar meetings, where matters are rather talked on than debated. And they run too swift to the Order or Act of *Counsel*. It were better, that in Causes of weight, the Matter were propounded one day, and not spoken till the next day, *In nocte Consilium*. So was it done in the Commission of Union between England and Scotland, which was a grave and orderly Assembly. I commend set days for Petitions: for it gives both the Suitors more certainty for their attendance, and it frees the meetings for matters of Estate, that they may *Hoc agere*. In choice of Committees for ripening Business for the Council, it is better to chuse indifferent Persons, than to make an Indifferency, by putting in those that  
are





## XXI.

*Of Delays.*

**F**ORTUNE is like the *Market*, where many times if you can stay a little, the Price will fall. And again, it is sometimes like *Sibylla's Offer*, which at first offereth the Commodity at fall, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up the Price. For *Occasion* (as it is in the Common Verse) turneth a *bald Noddy*, after she hath presented her Locks in Front, and no bold taken; or at least turneth the handle of the Bottle first to be received, and after the Belly, which is hard to clasp. There is surely no greater Wisdom, than well to time the Beginnings and Onsets of Things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seem light; and more Dangers have deceived Men, than forced them. Nay, it were better to meet some Dangers half way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their Approaches; for if a Man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleep. On the other side, to be deceived with two long Shadows (as some have been, when the Moon was low, and shone on their Enemies back,) and so to shoot off before the time; or to teach Dangers to come on, by over-early *Huckling* towards them, is another extrem. The Ripeness or Unripeness of the Occasion,

(as we said) must ever be well weighed; and generally it is good to commit the Beginnings of all great Actions to *Argus* with his hundred eyes, and the Ends to *Briareus* with his hundred hands; first to Watch, and then to speed. For the *Helmet of Pluto*, which maketh the Politick Man go invisible, is *Secrecy* in the Counsel, and *Celerity* in the Execution. For when things are once come to the Execution, there is no *Secrecy* comparable to *Celerity*; like the motion of a Bullet in the air, which flyeth so swift, as it out-runs the Eye.

## XXII.

## Of Cunning.

WE take *Cunning* for a Sinister or Crooked Wisdom. And certainly there is great difference between a *Cunning* Man and a *Wise* Man, not only in point of Honesty, but in point of Ability. There be that can pack the Cards, and yet cannot play well: so there are some that are good in Canvasses and Factions, that are otherwise Weak Men. Again, it is one thing to understand Persons, and another thing to understand Matters; for many are perfect in Mens Humours, that are not greatly capable of the real part of Business, which is the Constitution of one that hath studied Men more than Books. Such Men are fitter for Practice than for Counsel: and they

and they are good but in their own Alley, turn them to new men, and they have lost their Aim: so as the old Rule to know a Fool from a Wise man; *Aditte ambos nudos ad ignotos, & videbis*, doth scarce hold for them. And because these *Cunning Men* are like Haberdashers of small Wares, it is not amiss to set forth their shop.

It is a point of *Cunning* to wait upon him, with whom you speak, with your eye, as the Jesuits give it in precept: For there may be many wise men that have secret Hearts and transparent Countenances. Yet this would be done with a demure Abasing of your eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use.

Another is, that when you have any thing to obtain of present dispatch, you entertain and amuse the party with whom you deal, with some other Discourse, that he be not too much awake to make Objections. I knew a *Connfessor* and *Secretary*, that never came to Queen Elizabeth of England with Bills to sign, but he would always first put her into some Discourse of Estate, that she might the less mind the Bills.

The like surprize may be made by moving things, when the party is in haste, and cannot stay to consider advisedly of that is moved.

If a Man would cross a Business, that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself in such sort as may foil it.

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The breaking off in the midst of that, one was about to say, as if he took himself up, breeds a greater Appetite in him with whom you confer to know more.

And because it works better, when any thing seemeth to be gotten from you by Question, than if you offer it of your self; you may lay a Bait for a Question, by shewing another Visage and Countenance than you are wont; to the end, to give occasion for the party to ask, what the matter is of the Change, as *Nehemiah* did; *And I had not before that time been sad before the King.*

In things that are tender and unpleasant, it is good to break the Ice by some whose words are of less weight, and to reserve the more weighty voice to come in as by chance, so that he may be asked the Question upon the other Speech; as *Narcissus* did in relating to *Claudius* the marriage of *Messalina* and *Silius*.

In things that a man would not be seen in himself, it is a point of *Cunning* to borrow the name of the World, as to say; *The World says*, or, *There is a speech abroad.*

I knew one, that when he wrote a Letter, he would put that which was most material in the *Postscript*, as if it had been a By-matter.

I knew another, that when he came to have speech, he would pass over that he intended most, and go forth, and come back again and speak of it, as a thing that he had almost forgot.



Some procure themselves to be surprized at such times, as it is like the party that they work upon will suddenly come upon them, and to be found with a Letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed; to the end they may be opposed of those things, which of themselves they are desirous to utter.

It is a point of *Cunning*, to let fall those Words in a mans own Name, which he would have another man learn and use, and thereupon take advantage. I knew two that were Competitors for the Secretaries Place, in Queen Elizabeth's time, and yet kept good Quarter between themselves, and would confer one with another upon the Business; and one of them said, That to be a Secretary in the *Declination of a Monarchy*, was a ticklish thing, and that he did not affect it: the other strait caught up those Words, and discoursed with divers of his Friends, That he had no reason to desire to be a Secretary in the *Declining of a Monarchy*. The first man took hold of it, and found means it was told the Queen, Who hearing of a *Declination of a Monarchy*, took it so ill, as she would never after hear of the other's Suit.

There is a *Cunning*, which we in *England* call, *The turning of the Cat in Pan*; which is, when that which a man says to another, he lays it as if another had said it to him; and to say truth, it is not easie, when such a matter pass'd between two, to make it appear from which of them it first moved and began.

It is a way that some men have to glance and dart at others, by justifying themselves by Negatives; as to say, *This I did not*: As Tigellinus did towards Burrhus; *Se non diversas spes, sed incolumitatem Imperatoris simpliciter spectare.*

Some have in readiness so many Tales and Stories, as there is nothing they would insinuate, but they can wrap it into a Tale, which serveth both to keep themselves more in Guard, and carry it with more Pleasure.

It is a good point of *Cunning*, for a man to shape the Answer he would have in his own Words and Propositions; for it makes the other party stick the less.

It is strange, how long some men will lye in wait to speak somewhat they desire to say, and how far about they will fetch, and how many other matters they will beat over to come near it; it is a thing of great Patience, but yet of much Use.

A sudden, bold, and unexpected Question, doth many times surprize a man, and lay him open: Like to him, that having changed his Name, and walked in *Pauls*, another suddenly came behind him, and called him by his true Name, whereat streight-ways he looked back.

But these small Wares, and petty points of *Cunning* are infinite; and it were a good deed to make a List of them: for that nothing doth more hurt in a State, than that *Cunning Men* pass for *Wise*.

But certainly some there are, that know the Resorts and Falls of Business, that cannot sink into the Main of it: Like a House that hath convenient Stairs and Entries, but never a fair Room. Therefore you shall see them find out pretty Looses in the Conclusion, but are no ways able to examine or debate Matters: and yet commonly they take advantage of their Inability, and would be thought Wits of direction. Some build rather upon the abusing of others, and (as we now say) *Putting tricks upon them*; than upon the soundness of their own proceedings. But Solomon saith, *Prudens advertit ad gressus suos, Stultus divertit ad dolos.*

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## XXIII.

*Of Wisdom for a Mans self.*

**A**N *Ant* is a wise creature for it self, but it is a shrewd thing in an Orchard or Garden. And certainly men that are great *Lovers of Themselves*, waste the Publick. Divide with reason between *Self-love* and *Society*, and be so true to thy *Self*, as thou be not false to others, especially to thy King and Country. It is a poor Center of a mans Actions, *Himself*. It is right Earth; for that only stands fast upon its own Center; whereas all things that have Affinity with the *Heavens*, move upon the Center of another which they benefit. The referring of all to a  
*Mans*

*Mans Self*, is more tolerable in a Sovereign Prince; because *Themselves* are not only *Themselves*; but their Good and Evil is at the peril of the publick Fortune. But it is a desperate Evil in a Servant to a Prince, or a Citizen in a Republick. For whatsoever Affairs pass such a mans hands, he crooketh them to his own ends, which must needs be often Eccentrick to the ends of his Master or State: Therefore let Princes or States chuse such Servants as have not this mark; except they mean their Service should be made but the accessary. That which maketh the effect more pernicious, is, that all proportion is lost; it were disproportion enough for the Servants good, to be preferred before the Masters; but yet it is a greater extream, when a little good of the Servant shall carry things against the great good of the Masters. And yet that is the case of bad *Officers*, *Treasurers*, *Ambassadors*, *Generals*, and other false and corrupt Servants, which set a Byass upon their Bowl, of their own petty ends and envies, to the overthrow of their Masters great and important Affairs. And for the most part, the Good which Servants receive, is after the model of their own fortune; but the Hurt they sell for that Good, is after the model of their Masters Fortune. And certainly it is the nature of extream *Self-Lovers*, as they will set an House on fire, if it were but to roast their eggs: And yet these men many times hold credit with their Masters, because their study is but to please them, and profit *Themselves*; and

for either respect they will abandon the good of their Affairs.

*Wisdom for a Man's self* is in many branches thereof a depraved thing. It is the *Wisdom of Rats*, that will be sure to leave the House some time before it fall. It is the *Wisdom of the Fox*, that thrusts out the *Badger*, who digged and made room for him. It is the *Wisdom of Crocodiles*, that shed tears when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted, is, that those which (as *Cicero* says of *Pompey*) are, *Sui amantes sine rivali*, are many times unfortunate. And whereas they have all their time sacrific'd to *Themselves*, they become in the end *themselves* Sacrifices to the Inconstancy of Fortune, whose wings they thought by their *Self-Wisdom* to have pinned.

## XXIV.

*Of Innovation.*

**A**S the births of living Creatures at first are ill shapen, so are all *Innovations*, which are the births of Time. Yet notwithstanding, as those that first bring Honour into their Family, are commonly more worthy than most that succeed: So the first Precedent (if it be good) is seldom attained by imitation. For Ill to *Mans* nature, as it stands perverted, hath a natural motion, strongest in continuance: But Good,



as a forced motion, strongest at first. Surely every *Medicine* is an *Innovation*; and he that will not apply new Remedies, must expect new Evils: for Time is the greatest *Innovator*. And if Time of course alter things to the worse, and Wisdom and Counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end? It is true, that what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit. And those things which have long gone together, are as it were confederate within themselves, whereas new things piece not so well: But though they help by their utility, yet, they trouble by their Inconformity. Besides, they are like *strangers*, more admired, and less favoured. All this is true, if Time stood still; which contrariwise moveth so round, that a forward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing, as an *Innovation*: and they that reverence too much old times, are but a scorn to the new. It were good therefore, that men in their *Innovations* would follow the example of Time it self; which indeed *Innovateth* greatly, but quietly, and by degrees, scarce to be perceived: for otherwise whatsoever is new, is unlooked for; and ever it mends some, and pairs other: And he that is holpen, takes it for a Fortune, and thanks the Time; and he that is hurt, for a Wrong, and imputeth it to the Author. It is good also, not to try experiments in States, except the necessity be urgent, or the utility be evident; and well to beware, that it be the Reformation that draweth on the Change, and not the desire of

Change that pretendeth the Reformation. And lastly, that the *Novelty*, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect: And as the Scripture saith, *That we make a stand upon the ancient way, and then look about us, and discover what is the strait and right way, and so to walk in it.*

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## XXV.

*Of Dispatch.*

**A**FFECTED *Dispatch* is one of the most dangerous things to business that can be. It is like that which the Physicians call *Pre-digestion*, or *Hasty Digestion*, which is sure to fill the Body full of crudities, and secret seeds of Diseases. Therefore measure not *Dispatch* by the times of sitting, but by the advancement of the business. And as in Races, it is not the large Stride, or high Lift that makes the Speed; so in business, the keeping close to the matter, and not taking of it too much at once, procureth *Dispatch*. It is the care of some only to come off speedily for the time, or to contrive some false periods of business, because they may seem *Men of Dispatch*. But it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting, another by cutting off; and business so handled at several sittings or meetings, goeth commonly backward or forward in an unsteady manner. I knew a *Wise Man*, that had it for a by-word, when he saw men hasten to a Conclusion;

on; Stay a little that we may make an end the sooner.

On the other side, *True Dispatch* is a rich thing. For Time is the measure of Business, as Money is of Wares; and Business is bought at a dear hand, where there is small *Dispatch*. The *Spartans* and *Spaniards* have been noted to be of small *Dispatch*, *Mivenga la Muerte de Spagna*, Let my Death come from Spain, for then it will be sure to be long in coming.

Give good hearing to those that give the first Information in Business; and rather direct them in the beginning, than interrupt them in the continuance of their Speeches: for he that is put out of his own order, will go forward and backward, and more tedious while he waits upon his memory, than he could have been, if he had gone on in his own course. But sometimes it is seen, that the Moderator is more troublesome than the Actor.

*Iterations* are commonly loss of time; but there is no such gain of time, as to *iterate* often the State of the *Question*; for it chaseth away many a frivolous Speech as it is coming forth. Long and curious Speeches are as fit for *Dispatch*, as a Robe or Mantle with a long train is for a Race.

Prefaces, and Passages, and Excusations, and other Speeches of reference to the Person, are great wasters of time; and though they seem to proceed of modesty, they are bravery. Yet beware of being too material, when there is any impediment or obstruction in mens Wills; for pre-occupation of mind ever requireth preface of Speech,

Speech, like a fomentation to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, *Order*, and *Distribution*, and *Singling out of Parts* is the life of *Dispatch*, so as the *Distribution* be not too subtil; for he that doth not divide, will never enter well into business: and he that divideth too much, will never come out of it clearly. To chuse time, is to save time, and an unseasonable motion is but beating the Air. There be three parts of Business; the *Preparation*, the *Debate* or *Examination*, and the *Perfection*; whereof if you look for *Dispatch*, let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few. The proceeding upon somewhat conceived in writing, doth for the most part facilitate *Dispatch*: for though it should be wholly rejected, yet that *Negative* is more pregnant of direction, than an *Indefinite*; as Ashes are more generative than Dust.

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## XXVI.

### *Of Seeming Wise.*

**I**T hath been an opinion, that the *French* are wiser than they seem, and the *Spaniards* seem wiser than they are. But howsoever it be between *Nations*, certainly it is so between Man and Man. For as the *Apostle* saith of *Godliness*, *Having a shew of Godliness, but denying the power thereof;*

thereof; so certainly there are in points of wisdom and sufficiency, that to do nothing or little very solemnly; *Magno conatu nugas*. It is a ridiculous thing, and fit for a Satyr, to persons of judgment, to see what shifts these Formalists have, and what prospectives to make *Superficies* to seem *Body*, that hath depth and bulk. Some are so close reserved, as they will not shew their Wares, but by a dark light; and seem always to keep back somewhat: And when they know within themselves, they speak of that they do not well know, would nevertheless seem to others, to know of that which they may not well speak. Some help themselves with countenance and gesture, and are wise by Signs; as *Cicero* saith of *Piso*, that when he answered him, he fetched one of his Brows up to his Forehead, and bent the other down to his Chin: *Respondes, altero ad Frontem sublato, altero ad Mentum depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere*. Some think to bear it, by speaking a great word, and being peremptory; and go on, and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seem to despise or make light of it, as impertinent or curious, and so will have their Ignorance seem Judgment. Some are never without a difference, and commonly by amusing men with a subtilty, blanch the matter; of whom *A. Gellius* saith, *Hominem delirum qui verborum minutiis rerum frangit pondera*. Of which kind also *Plato* in his *Protagoras* bringeth in *Prodicus* in scorn, and



and maketh him make a Speech, that consisteth of distinctions from the beginning to the end. Generally such men in all deliberations find ease to be of the Negative side, and effect a credit to object and foretel difficulties: For when Propositions are denied, there is an end of them; but if they be allowed, it requireth a new work; which false point of wisdom is the bane of business. To conclude, there is no decaying Merchant, or inward Beggar, hath so many tricks to uphold the credit of their Wealth, as these empty Persons have to maintain the credit of their sufficiency. *Seeming Wise Men* may make shift to get opinion, but let no man chuse them for employment; for certainly you were better take for business a man somewhat absurd, than over-formal

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## XXVII.

*Of Friendship.*

**I**T had been hard for him that spake it, to have put more truth and untruth together in few words, than in that Speech, *Whosoever is delighted in solitude, is either a wild Beast, or a God.* For it is most true, that a natural and secret hatred, and aversion towards Society in any Man, hath somewhat of the savage Beast; but it is most untrue, that it should have any character at all of the Divine Nature, except it proceed

ceed not out of a pleasure in *Solitude*, but out of a love and desire to sequester a mans self for a higher conversation; such as is found to have been falsely and feignedly in some of the Heathen, as *Epimenides* the *Candian*, *Numa* the *Roman*, *Empedocles* the *Sicilian*, and *Apollonius* of *Tyana*; and truly and really in divers of the ancient Hermits, and Holy Fathers of the Church. But little do men perceive what *Solitude* is, and how far it extendeth: for a Crown is not Company, and Faces are but a Gallery of Pictures, and Talk but a *Thinking Cymbal*, where there is no Love. The Latine Adage meeteth with it a little, *Magna Civitas, magna solitudo*; because in a great Town *Friends* are scattered, so that there is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in less *Neighbourhoods*. But we may go further, and affirm most truly, that it is a meer and miserable *solitude* to want *Friends*, without which the World is but a Wilderness: and even in this Sense also of *Solitude*, whosoever in the Frame of his Nature and Affections is unfit for *Friendship*, he taketh it of the Beast, and not from Humanity.

A Principal *Fruit* of *Friendship* is, the Ease and Discharge of the Fulness and Swellings of the Heart, which Passions of all kinds do cause and induce. We know Diseases of Stoppings and Suffocations are the most dangerous in the Body, and it is not much otherwise in the Mind; You may take *Sarza* to open the Liver, *Steel* to open the Spleen, *Flower of Sulphur* for the Lungs, *Castoreum*

*Castoreum* for the Brain; but no Receipt openeth the Heart, but a true Friend, to whom you may impart Griefs, Joys, Fears, Hopes, Suspicions, Counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the Heart to oppress it, in a kind of Civil Shrift or Confession.

It is a strange thing to observe, how high a Rate great Kings and Monarchs do set upon this *Fruit of Friendship* whereof we speak; so great, as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own Safety and Greatness. For Princes, in regard of the distance of their Fortune from that of their Subjects and Servants, cannot gather this *Fruit*, except (to make Themselves capable thereof) they raise some Persons to be, as it were, Companions, and almost Equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to Inconvenience. The modern Languages give unto such Persons the name of *Favorites* or *Privadoes*, as if it were matter of Grace or Conversation. But the *Roman* name attaineth the true Use and Cause thereof, naming them *Participes Curarum*; for it is that which tyeth the knot. And we see plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and Passionate *Princes* only, but by the Wisest, and most Politick that ever reigned: who have oftentimes joyned to themselves some of their Servants, whom both themselves have called *Friends*, and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner, using the word which is received between private men.

L. Sylla,

L. Sylla, when he commanded Rome, raised Pompey (after surnamed the Great) to that Height, that Pompey vaunted himself for Sylla's Over-match: for when he had carried the Consulship for a Friend of his against the pursuit of Sylla, and that Sylla did a little resent thereat, and began to speak great, Pompey turned upon him again, and in effect bad him be quiet; For that more men adored the Sun-rising than the Sun-setting. With Julius, Decius Brutus had obtained that Interest, as he set him down in his Testament, for Heir in Remainder after his Nephew. And this was the man that had power with him, to draw him forth to his Death. For when Caesar would have discharged the Senate, in regard of some ill presages, and specially a Dream of Calpurnia; This man lifted him gently by the Arm out of his Chair, telling him, he hoped he would not dismiss the Senate, till his Wife had dreamed a better Dream. And it seemeth his favour was so great, as Antonius in a Letter which is recited verbatim in one of Cicero's Philippiques, called him *Venefica*, Witch; as if he had enchanted Caesar. Augustus raised Agrippa (though of mean Birth) to that Height, as when he consulted with Macenas about the Marriage of his Daughter Julia, Macenas took the Liberty to tell him, That he must either marry his Daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life, there was no third way, he had made him so great. With Tiberius Caesar, Sejannus had ascended to that Height, as they two were termed and reckoned

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as a pair of Friends. *Tiberius* in a Letter to him, saith, *Hac pro Amicitia nostra non occultavi*; and the whole Senate dedicated an Altar to *Friendship*, as to a Goddess, in respect of the great Dearness of *Friendship* between them two. The like or more was between *Septimius Severus* and *Plantianus*; for he forced his eldest Son to marry the Daughter of *Plantianus*, and would maintain *Plantianus* in doing affronts to his Son, and did write also in a Letter to the Senate these words; *I love the Man so well, as I wish he may over-love me*. Now if these Princes had been as a *Trajan*, or a *Marcus Aurelius*, a Man might have thought, that this had proceeded of an abundant Goodness of Nature; but being men so Wise, of such strength and severity of Mind, and so extream Lovers of themselves, as all these were; it proveth most plainly, that they found their own Felicity (though as great as ever happened to mortal men) but as an half Piece, except they might have a *Friend* to make it Entire; and yet, which is more, they were *Princes* that had Wives, Sons, Nephews, and yet all these could not supply the Comfort of *Friendship*.

It is not to be forgotten, what *Commynes* observeth of his Master, *Duke Charles the Hardy*; namely, That he would communicate his Secrets with none; and least of all those Secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on, and saith, that towards his latter time; *That closeness did impair, and a little perish his understanding*. Surely, *Commynes* might have made the same



same Judgment also, if it had pleased him, of his second Master, *Lewis* the Eleventh, whose Closeness was indeed his Tormentor. The Parable of *Pythagoras* is dark, but true, *Cor me edito, Eat not the Heart*. Certainly if a man would give it a hard Phrase, those that want *Friends* to open themselves unto, are Cannibals of their own *Hearts*. But one thing is most admirable, (wherewith I will conclude this first *Fruit* of *Friendship*,) which is, That this Communicating of a Man's Self to his *Friend*, works two contrary effects; for it redoubleth *Joy*, and cutteth *Griefs* in Halfe; for there is no man that imparteth his *Joy*s to his *Friend*, but he *Joyeth* the more; and no Man that imparteth his *Griefs* to his *Friend*, but he *grieveth* the less. So that it is in truth of Operation upon a Man's mind of like virtue, as the *Alchymists* use to attribute to their Stone for Man's Body, that it worketh all contrary effects, but still to the Good and Benefit of Nature; but yet without praying in Aid of *Alchymists*, there is a manifest Image of this in the ordinary course of Nature: for in Bodies *Union* strengthneth and cherisheth any natural Action; and on the other side, weakneth and dullesh any violent Impression; and even so it is of Minds.

The second *Fruit* of *Friendship* is Healthful and Sovereign for the *Understanding*, as the first is for the Affections: for *Friendship* maketh indeed a fair Day in the Affections from Storm and Tempests; but it maketh Day-light in the *Understand-*

ing out of Darkness and Confusion of Thoughts. Neither is this to be understood only of Faithful Counsel which a man receiveth from his *Friend*: but before you come to that, certain it is, that whosoever hath his Mind fraught with many Thoughts, his Wits and Understanding do clarify and break up in the Communicating and Discourſing with another; he tolleth his Thoughts more eaſily, he marſhalleth them more orderly, he ſeeth how they look when they are turned into words. Finally, he waxeth wiſer than Himſelf; and that more by an hours Diſcourſe, than by 2 days Meditation. It was well ſaid by *Themistocles* to the King of *Persia*, That Speech was like Cloth of Arras opened and put abroad; whereby the Imagery doth appear in Figure, whereas in Thoughts they lie but as in Packs. Neither is this ſecond Fruit of Friendship, in opening the Understanding, reſtrained only to ſuch Friends as are able to give a Man Counsel; (they indeed are beſt) but even without that a Man learneth of himſelf, and bringeth his own Thoughts to Light, and whetted his Wits as againſt a Stone, which it ſelf cuts not. In a word, a Man were better relate himſelf to a Statue or Picture, than to ſuffer his Thoughts to paſs in ſmother.

And now, to make this ſecond Fruit of Friendship compleat, that other Point which lyeth more open, and falleth within Vulgar Obſervation, which is Faithful Counsel from a Friend. *Heraclitus* ſaith well in one of his *Enigma's*; Dry Light is ever the beſt. And certain it is, that the  
Light

Light that a Man receiveth by *Counsel* from another, is drier and purer than that which cometh from his own *Understanding* and *Judgment*, which is ever infused and drenched in his *Affections* and *Customs*, so as there is as much difference between the *Counsel* that a *Friend* giveth, and that a man giveth himself, as there is between the *Counsel* of a *Friend*, and of a *Flatterer*; for there is no such *Flatterer* as in a Man's self; and there is no such remedy against *Flattery* of a man's self, as the liberty of a *Friend*. *Counsel* is of two sorts; the one concerning *Manners*, the other concerning *Business*. For the First; the best preservative to keep the Mind in Health, is the faithful Admonition of a *Friend*. The calling of a Man's self to a strict account is a Medicine sometime too piercing and Corrosive. Reading good Books of Morality, is a little Flat and Dead. Observing our Faults in others, is sometimes unproper for our case. But the best Receipt, (best, I say) to work, and best to take, is the Admonition of a *Friend*. It is a strange thing to behold, what gross Errors, and extream absurdities many (especially of the greater sort) do commit, for want of a *Friend* to tell them of them, to the great damage both of their Fame and Fortune: for, as St. James saith, they were as Men that look sometimes into a Glass, and presently forget their own shape and favour. As for *Business*, a man may think, if he will, that two Eyes see no more than one; or that a *Gambler* seeth always more than a *Looker*

on; or that a Man in Anger is as wise as he that hath said over the four and twenty Letters; or that a Musket may be shot off as well upon the Arm, as upon a Rest; and such other fond and high Imaginations, to think himself All in All. But when all is done, the help of good *Counsel* is that which setteth Business straight; and if any man think that he will take *Counsel*, but it shall be by pieces, asking *Counsel* in one business of one man, and in another business of another man; it is well, (that is to say, better perhaps than if he asked none at all) but he runneth two dangers; one, that he shall not faithfully be Counsell'd; for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire *Friend*, to have *Counsel* given, but such as shall be bow'd and crook'd to some ends, which he hath that giveth it. The other, that he shall have *Counsel* given, hurtful and unsafe, (though with good meaning) and mixt; partly of mischief, and partly of remedy: even as if you would call a Physician, that is thought good for the Cure of the Disease you complain of; but is unacquainted with your Body; and therefore may put you in a way for present Cure, but overthroweth your Health in some other kind, and so cure the Disease, and kill the Patient. But a *Friend* that is wholly acquainted with a Man's Estate, will beware by furthering any present *Business*; how he dasheth upon other Inconvenience; and therefore rest not upon scattered *Counsels*, for they will rather distract and mislead, than settle and direct.

After

After these two noble Fruits of Friendship (*Peace in the Affections, and Support of the Judgment*) followeth the last Fruit which is like the Pomegranate, full of many kernels; I mean *And Bearing a part in all Affairs and Occasions*. Here the best way to represent to the life the manifold use of Friendship, is to cast and see how many things there are, which a man cannot do himself; and then it will appear, that it was a sparing Speech of the Ancients, to say, *That a Friend is another himself*; for that a Friend is far more than himself. Men have their time, and dye many times in desire of some things, which they principally take to heart; The bestowing of a Child, the finishing of a work, or the like. If a Man have a true Friend, he may rest almost secure, that the care of these things will continue after him: so that a Man hath as it were two Lives in his desires. A Man hath a Body, and that Body is confined to a place; but where Friendship is, all Offices of Life are as it were granted to him and his Deputy; for he may exercise them by his Friend. How many things are there, which a Man cannot, with any face or comeliness, say or do himself? A man can scarce alledge his own merits with modesty, much less extol them: A man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate or beg; and a number of the like. But all these things are graceful in a Friend's mouth, which are blushing in a man's own. So again, a man's Person hath many proper Relations, which he cannot put off. A man cannot



speake to his Son, but as a Father, to his Wife  
but as a Husband, to his Enemy, but upon terms  
Whereas a *Friend* may speak as the case requires  
and not as it loveth with the Person: But to  
enumerate these things were endless: I have  
given the Rule, where a man cannot fitly play  
his own part: If he have not a *Friend*, he may  
quit the Stage.

## XXVIII.

## Of Expence.

**R**ICHES are for spending, and spending  
for Honour and good Actions: Therefore  
*Extraordinary Expence* must be limited by the  
worth of the occasion: For *Voluntary Undoing*  
may be as well for a man's Country, as for the  
*Kingdom of Heaven*, but *Ordinary Expence* ought  
to be limited by a Man's Estate, and governed  
with such regard, as it be within his compass,  
and not subject to deceit and abuse of Servants,  
and ordered to the best shew, that the Bills may  
be less than the Estimation abroad. Certainly, if  
a man will keep but of even hand, his *Ordinary*  
*Expences* ought to be but to the half of his Re-  
ceipts: And if he think to wax Rich, but to the  
third part. It is no baseness for the greatest to  
descend and look into their own Estate. Some  
forbear it, not upon negligence alone, but doubt-  
ing to bring themselves into melancholy, in re-  
spect

spect they shall find it broken; but Wounds cannot be cured without searching. He that cannot look into his own Estate at all, had need both chuse well those whom he employeth, and change them oftner; for new are more timorous, and less subtil. He that can look into his Estate but seldom, it becometh him to turn all to certainty. A man had need, if he be plentiful in some kind of *Expence*, to be as saving again in some other: as if he be plentiful in Dyer, to be saving in Apparel: If he be plentiful in the Hall, to be saving in the Stable, and the like. For he that is plentiful in *Expences* of all kinds, will hardly be preserved from decay. In clearing of a man's Estate, he may as well hurt himself, in being in too sudden, as in letting it run on too long. For hasty Selling is commonly as disadvantageous as Interest. Besides, he that clears at once will relapse; for finding himself out of streights, he will revert to his customs: But he that cleareth by degrees, induceth a habit of frugality, and gaineth as well upon his mind as upon his Estate. Certainly, who hath a State to repair, may not despise small things: and commonly it is less dishonourable to abridg petty Charges, than to stoop to petty Gettings. A man ought warily to begin Charges, which once begun will continue; but in matters that return not, he may be more magnificent.

## XXIX.

*Of the true Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates.*

THE Speech of *Themistocles* the Athenian, which was haughty and arrogant, in taking so much to himself, had been a grave and wise observation and censure, applyed at large to others: Desired at a Feast to touch a Lute, he said, *He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small Town a great City.* These words, (holpen a little with a Metaphor) may expresse two differing abilities in those that deal in business of Estate. For if a true Survey be taken of Counsellors and Statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those which can make a *small State great*, and yet cannot *fiddle*: As on the other side, there will be found a great many that can *fiddle* very cunningly, but yet are so far from being able to make a *small State great*, as their Gift lyeth the other way, to bring a great and flourishing Estate to ruin and decay. And certainly those degenerate Arts and Shifts, whereby many Counsellors and Governors gain both favour with their Masters, and estimation with the Vulgar, deserve no better name than *Fiddling*, being things rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the weal

weal and advancement of the State which they serve. There are also (no doubt) Counsellors and Governors which may be held sufficient (*Negotiis pares*) able to manage Affairs, and to keep them from *Precipices*, and manifest Inconveniences, which nevertheless are far from the ability to raise and amplify an Estate in power, means, and fortune. But be the Workmen what they may be, let us speak of the Work; That is, the true *Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates*, and the *Means* thereof. An Argument fit for Great and Mighty Princes to have in their hand, to the end, that neither by overmeasuring their Forces, they leese themselves in vain Enterprises; nor on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to fearful and pusillanimous *Counsels*.

The *Greatness* of an Estate in Bulk and Territory, doth fall under measure; and the *Greatness* of Finances and Revenue, doth fall under computation. The Population may appear by *Musters*, and the Number and Greatness of Cities and Towns by Cards and Maps. But yet there is not any thing among Civil Affairs, more subject to error, than the right valuation, and true judgment, concerning the Power and Forces of an Estate.

The *Kingdom of Heaven* is compared not to any great Kernel or Nut, but to a *Grain of Mustard-seed*, which is one of the least Grains, but hath in it a property and Spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are their States great in Territory, and yet not apt to Enlarge or Command;  
and

and some that have but a small dimension of Stem, and yet apt to be the Foundations of great Monarchies.

Walled Towns, Stored Arsenals and Armouries, Goodly Races of Horse, Chariots of War, Elephants, Ordnance, Artillery, and the like: All this is but a Sheep in a Lions Skin, except the breed and disposition of the People be stout and warlike. Nay, Number (it self) in Armies importeth not much, where the People is of weak courage: For, (as *Virgil* saith) *It never troubles a Wolf, how many the Sheep be.* The Army of the *Persians*, in the Plains of *Arbela*, was such a vast Sea of People, as it did somewhat astonish the Commanders in *Alexanders* Army; who came to him therefore, and wished him to set upon them by night; but he answered, *He would not pilfer the Victory*: And the defeat was easie.

When *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, being encamped upon a Hill with 400000 Men, discovered the Army of the *Romans*, being not above 14000 marching towards him, he made himself merry with it, and said, *Tonder Men are too many for an Ambassage, and too few for a Fight*: But before the Sun set, he found them enough to give him the Chase with infinite slaughter. Many are the examples of great odds between Number and Courage; so that a man may truly make a judgment, That the principal point of *Greatness* in any *State*, is, to have a Race of Military men. Neither is Money the Sinews of War, (as it is trivially said) where the Sinews of Mens Arms  
in



in Base and Effeminate People are failing. For Solon said well to Croesus, when in ostentation he shewed him his Gold) Sir, If any other come, that hath better Iron than you, he will be Master of all this Gold. Therefore let any Prince or State think soberly of his Forces, except his Militia of Natives be of good and valiant Soldiers. And let Princes on the other side, that have Subjects of Martial disposition, know their own strength, unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for Mercenary Forces, (which is the Help in this Case) all examples shew, that whatsoever Estate or Prince doth rest upon them, He may spread his Feathers for a time, but he will mew them soon after.

The Blessing of Judas and Isachar will never meet, That the same People or Nation should be both the Lions whelp, and Ass between Burthens: Neither will it be, that a People over-laid with Taxes, should ever become Valiant and Martial. It is true, that Taxes levied by Consent of the State, do abate mens Courage less, as it hath been seen notably in the Excises of the Low Countries; and in some degree, in the Subsidies of England: for you must note, that we speak now of the Heart, and not of the Purse. So that although the same Tribute and Tax, laid by Consent, or by Imposing, be all one to the Purse, yet it works diversly upon the Courage: so that you may conclude, That no People, over-charged with Tribute, is fit for Empire.

Let.

Let States that aim at *Greatness* take heed how their *Nobility* and *Gentlemen* do multiply too fast. For that maketh the Common Subject grow to be a Peasant, and base Swain, driven out of Heart, and in effect but a *Gentlemans* Labourer: even as you may see in Coppice Woods. If you leave your *Staddles* too thick, you shall never have clean Underwood, but *Sbrubs* and *Bushes*. So in Countries, if the *Gentlemen* be too many, the *Commons* will be base: and you will bring it to that, that not the hundredth Poll will be fit for an *Helmet*; especially as to the *Infantry*, which is the Nerve of an Army; and so there will be great Population and little Strength. This which I speak of, hath been no where better seen, than by comparing of *England* and *France*: whereof *England*, though far less in Territory and Population, hath been nevertheless an Over-match; in regard the *Middle People* of *England* make good Soldiers, which the *Peasants* of *France* do not. And herein the device of King *Henry the Seventh* (whereof I have spoken largely in the *History of his Life*) was Profound and Admirable in making Farms and Houses of Husbandry, of a Standard; that is, maintained with such a Proportion of Land unto them, as may breed a subject to live in Convenient Plenty, and no Servile Condition; and to keep the Plough in the hands of the Owners and not meer Hirelings. And thus indeed you shall attain to *Virgil's* Character which he gives to Antient *Italy*:

*Terra potens armisque atque ubere Gleba.*

Neither

Neither is that State (which for any thing I know, is almost peculiar to *England*, and hardly to be found any where else, except it be perhaps in *Poland*) to be passed over; I mean the State of *Free-Servants* and *Attendants* upon *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*, which are no ways inferiour to the *Teomanry* for Arms: And therefore, out of all Question, the Splendor and Magnificence, and great Retinues, and Hospitality of *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen* received into Custom, doth much conduce unto *Martial Greatness*: Whereas contrariwise, the close and reserving Living of *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*, causeth a Penury of *Military Forces*.

By all means it is to be procured, that the Trunk of *Nebucadnezzars Tree* of *Monarchy*, be great enough to bear the Branches, and the Boughs; that is, That the *Natural Subjects* of the Crown or State, bear a sufficient Proportion to the *Stranger Subjects* that they govern. Therefore all States that are liberal of *Naturalization* towards Strangers, are fit for *Empire*. For to think that an Handful of People can with the greatest Courage and Policy in the World, embrace to large extent of Dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will fail suddenly. The *Spartans* were a nice People in point of *Naturalization*; whereby, while they kept their Compass, they stood firm; but when they did spread, and their Boughs were become too great for their Stem, they became a Wind-fall upon the sudden. Never any State was in this Point so open to receive *Strangers* into their Body, as were the *Romans*.

mans, therefore it sorted with them accordingly: for they grew to the greatest *Monarchy*. Their manner was to grant *Naturalization*, (which they called *Jus Civitatis*) and to grant it in the highest Degree; that is, not only *Jus Commercii*, *Jus Connubii*, *Jus Hereditatis*, but also *Jus Suffragii*, and *Jus Honorum*. And this, not to singular Persons alone, but likewise to whole Families; yea, to Cities, and sometimes to Nations. Add to this their Custom of *Plantation* of Colonies, whereby the *Roman* Plant was removed into the Soyl of other Nations; and putting both Constitutions together, you will say, That it was not the *Romans* that spread upon the *World*, but it was the *World* that spread upon the *Romans*; and that was the sure Way of *Greatness*. I have marvelled sometimes at *Spain*, how they clasp and contain so large Dominions with so few natural *Spaniards*: but sure the whole Compass of *Spain* is a very great Body of a Tree, far above *Rome* and *Sparta* at the first: and besides, though they have not had that usage to *Naturalize* liberally, yet they have that which is next to it; that is, To employ, almost indifferently, all Nations in their *Militia* of ordinary Soldiers: yea, and sometimes in their *Highest Commands*. Nay, it seemeth at this instant, they are sensible of this want of Natives, as by the *Pragmatical Sanction*, now published, appeareth.

It is certain, that *Sedentary* and *Within-door Arts*, and delicate Manufactures, (that require rather the Finger, than the Arm) have in their Nature

Nature a Contrarity to a Military disposition. And generally all Warlike People are a little idle, and love Danger better than Travel: neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserved in vigour. Therefore it was great Advantage in the Ancient States of *Sparta*, *Athens*, *Rome*, and others, that they had the use of *Slaves*, which commonly did rid those Manufactures: but that is abolished in greatest part by the *Christian Law*. That which cometh nearest to it, is, to leave those Arts chiefly to Strangers (which for that purpose are the more easily to be received) and to contain the principal Bulk of the vulgar Natives within those three kinds; *Tillers of the Ground*, *Free Servants*, and *Handicrafts Men* of strong and manly Arts; as *Smiths*, *Masons*, *Carpenters*, &c. not reckoning professed Soldiers.

But above all, for *Empire* and *Greatness* it importeth most, that a Nation do profess Arms as their principal Honour, Study and Occupation; for the things which we formerly have spoken of, are but *Habilitations* towards Arms; and what is *Habilitation*, without *Intention* and *Act*? *Romulus* after his death (as they report or feign) sent a Present to the *Romans*, that above all they should intend Arms, and then they should prove the greatest *Empire* of the world. The Fabrick of the State of *Sparta* was wholly (though not wisely) framed and composed to that Scope and End. The *Persians* and *Macedonians* had it for a fash. The *Galls*, *Germans*, *Goths*, *Saxons*, *Normans*,



*mans*, and others had it for a time. The *Turks* have it at this day, though in great Declination. Of Christian *Europe*, they that have it, are in effect only the *Spaniards*. But it is so plain, That every Man profueth in that he most intendeth, that it needeth not to be stood upon. It is enough to point at it, that no Nation which doth not directly profess Arms, may look to have *Greatness* fall into their mouths. And on the other side, it is a most certain Oracle of Time, that those States that continue long in that profession (as the *Romans* and *Turks* principally have done) do wonders; and those that have professed Arms but for an Age, have notwithstanding commonly attained that *Greatness* in that Age, which maintained them long after, when their Profession and exercise of Arms are grown to decay.

Incident to this Point is, for a State to have those Laws or Customs which may reach forth unto them just Occasions (as may be pretended) of War: for there is that justice imprinted in the Nature of Men, that they enter not upon Wars (whereof so many Calamities do ensue) but upon some, or at least specious Grounds and Quarrels. The *Turk* hath at hand, for cause of War, the Propagation of his Law or Sect, a Quarrel that he may always command. The *Romans*, though they esteemed the extending the Limits of their Empire to be great Honour to their Generals, when it was done; yet they never rested upon that alone to begin a War.

First,

First therefore, let Nations that pretend to *Greatness*, have this; that they be sensible of wrongs, either upon Borders, Merchants, or Politick Ministers; and that they sit not too long upon a Provocation. Secondly, let them be prest, and ready to give Aids and Succours to their Confederates; as it ever was with the *Romans*: Inasmuch as if the Confederate had Leagues defensive with divers others States, and upon Invasion offered, did deplore their Aids severally; yet the *Romans* would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none other to have the Honour. As for the Wars which were anciently made on the behalf of a kind of Party, or tacit Conformity of Estate, I do not well say, how they may be well justified: As when the *Romans* made a War for the Liberty of *Gracia*; or when the *Lacedamonians* and *Athenians* made Wars to set up or pull down *Democracies* and *Oligarchies*; or when Wars were made by Foreigners, under the pretence of Justice or Protection, to deliver the Subjects of others from Tyranny and Oppression, and the like. Let it suffice, That no Estate expect to be *Great*, that is not awake, upon any just Occasion of Arming.

No Body can be Healthful without *Exercise*; Neither Natural Body, nor Politick; and certainly to a Kingdom or Estate, a just and Honourable War is the true *Exercise*. A Civil War indeed is like the Heat of a Fever; but a Foreign War is like the Heat of *Exercise*, and serveth to keep the Body in health: for in a slothful Peace

I

both

both Courages will effeminate, and Manners corrupt. But howsoever it be for Happiness without all Question; for *Greatness*, it maketh to be still, for the most part in Arms; and the strength of a Veterane Army (though it be a chargeable Business) always on Foot, is that which commonly giveth the Law, or at least the Reputation amongst all Neighbour-States; as may well be seen in *Spain*, which hath had in one part or other a Veterane Army, almost continually, now by the space of sixscore years.

To be Master of the *Sea*, is an Abridgment of a Monarchy. *Cicero* writing to *Atticus*, of *Pompey* his Preparation against *Caesar*, saith, *Consilium Pompeii plane Themistocleum est*; *Putat enim qui Mari potitur, eum Rerum potiri*. And without doubt *Pompey* had tired out *Caesar*, if upon vain Confidence he had not left that Way. We see the great effects of Battels by *Sea*. The Battel of *Altium* decided the Empire of the World. The Battel of *Lepanto* arrested the Greatness of the *Turk*. There be many examples, where *Sea Fights* have been Final to the War; but this is when Princes or States have set up their Rest upon the Battels. But thus much is certain, that he that commands the *Sea*, is at great liberty, and may take as much, and as little of the War, as he will; whereas those that be strongest by Land, are many times nevertheless in great streights. Surely at this day, with us of *Europe*, the Vantage of strength at *Sea* (which is one of the principal Dowries of this Kingdom of Great Britain)

Britain) is great: both because most of the Kingdoms of Europe are not meerly In-land, but girt with the Sea, most part of their Compass; and because the Wealth of both Indies seem in great part but an Accessary to the Command of the Seas.

The Wars of *Latter Ages* seem to be made in the Dark, in respect of the Glory and Honour which reflected upon Men from the Wars in *Antient Time*. There be now for Martial Encouragement, some Degrees and Orders of Chivalry, which nevertheless are conferred promiscuously upon Souldiers, and no Souldiers; and some Remembrance perhaps upon the Scutchion; and some Hospitals for maimed Souldiers, and such like Things. But in Antient Times, the Trophies erected upon the place of the Victory; the Funeral Laudatives and Monuments for those that died in the Wars; the Crowns and Garlands personal; the Style of Emperor, which the great King of the World after borrowed; the Triumphs of the Generals upon their Return; the great Donatives and Largesses upon the Disbanding of the Armies, were things able to enflame all mens Courages. But above all, that of the Triumph amongst the *Romans*, was not Pageant or Gaudery, but one of the Wisest and Noblest Institutions that ever was: for it contained three things: Honour to the General; Riches to the Treasury out of the Spoyl; and Donatives to the Army. But that Honour perhaps were not fit for *Monarchies*, except it be in the Person of the *Monarch* himself;

or his Sons ; as it came to pass in the times of the *Roman Emperors*, who did impropriate the Actual Triumphs to themselves, and their Sons, for such Wars as they did atchieve in Persons ; and left only for Wars atchieved by Subjects, some Triumphal Garments and Ensigns to the General.

To conclude, No Man can, by *Care taking* (as the *Scripture* saith) *add a cubit to his Stature*, in this little Model of a *Mans Body* ; but in the greate Frame of *Kingdoms and Commonwealths* ; it is in the power of Princes or Estates to add Amplitude and *Greatness* to their *Kingdoms*. For by introducing such Ordinances, Constitutions and Customs, as we have now touched, they may sow *Greatness* to their Posterity and Succession. But these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance.

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### XXX.

#### *Of Regiment of Health.*

THERE is a Wisdom in this beyond the Rules of *Physick*: A Mans own observation what he finds good of, and what he finds hurt of, is the best *Physick* to preserve Health, But it is a safer conclusion to say, *This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it*, than this, *I find no offence of this, therefore I may use it*. For strength of Nature in Youth passeth over



over many Excesses which are owing by a Man till his Age. Discern of the coming on of years, and think not to do the same things still; for Age will not be defied. Beware of sudden change in any great point of Diet; and if necessity inforce it, fit the rest to it: For it is a secret both in Nature and State, that it is safer to change many things than one. Examine thy Customs of Diet, Sleep, Exercise, Apparel, and the like: And try in any thing thou shalt judg hurtful, to discontinue it by little and little; but so, as if thou dost find any inconvenience by the change, thou come back to it again: For it is hard to distinguish that which is generally held good and wholesome, from that which is good particularly, and fit for a mans own Body. To be free minded, and cheerfully disposed at hours of Meat, and of Sleep, and of Exercise, is one of the best precepts for long Life. As for the Passions and Studies of the Mind; avoid envy, anxious Fears, Anger fretting inwards, subtile and knotty Inquisitions, Joys, and Exhilarations in Excess, Sadness not communicated; entertain Hopes, Mirth rather than Joy, variety of Delights, rather than Surfeit of them, Wonder and Admiration, and therefore Novelties, Studies that fill the mind with splendid and illustrious Objects, as Histories, Fables, and Contemplations of Nature. If you fly Physick in *Health* altogether, it will be too strange for your Body when you shall need it. If you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary effect when

Sickness cometh. I commend rather some Diet for certain Seasons, than frequent use of *Physick*, except it be grown into a custom: For those Diets alter the Body more, and trouble it less. Despise no new accident in your Body, but ask opinion of it. In *Sickness* respect *Health* Principally, and in *Health*, *Action*: For those that put their Bodies to endure in *Healths* may in most *Sicknesses*, which are not very sharp, be cured only with Diet and tending. *Celsus* could never have spoken it as a *Physician*, had he not been a wise Man withal, when he giveth it for one of the great Precepts of Health and Lasting, That a Man do vary, and interchange contraries, but with an inclination to the more benign extrem, Use Fasting and full Eating, but rather full Eating; Watching and Sleep, but rather Sleep; Sitting and Exercise, but rather Exercise, and the like: So shall Nature be cherished, and yet taught Masteries. *Physicians* are some of them so pleasing, and conformable to the humour of the Patient, as they press not the true cure of the Disease; and some other are so regular, in proceeding according to Art for the Disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the Patient. Take one of a middle temper, or if it may not be found in one Man, combine two of either sort; and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your Body, as the best reputed of for his Faculty.

## Of Suspicion.

**SUSPICIONS** amongst thoughts are like Bats amongst Birds, they ever fly by twilight. Certainly they are to be repressed, or at least well guarded; for they cloud the Mind, they leese Friends, and they check with Business, whereby Business cannot go on currant and constantly. They dispose Kings to Tyranny, Husbands to Jealousie, Wise Men to Irresolution and Melancholy. They are defects, not in the Heart, but in the Brain; for they take place in the stoutest Natures: As in the example of *Henry the Seventh of England*, there was not a more *Suspicious* Man, nor a more Stout: And in such a composition they do small hurt. For commonly they are not admitted, but with examination whether they be likely or no; but in fearful Natures they gain ground too fast. There is nothing makes a Man *suspect* much, more than to know little; and therefore Men should remedy *Suspicion*, by procuring to know more, and not to keep their *Suspitions* in smother. What would Men have? Do they think those they imploy and deal with are Saints? Do they not think they will have their own ends, and be truer to themselves than to them? Therefore there is no better way to moderate *Suspitions*,

than to account upon such *Suspensions* as true, and yet to bridle them as false. For so far a Man ought to make use of *Suspensions*, as to provide, as if that should be true that he *suspects*, yet it may do him no hurt. *Suspensions* that the mind of it self gathers are but Buzzes, but *Suspensions* that are artificially nourished, and put into *Mens heads* by the tales and whispering of others, have Stings. Certainly the best means to clear the way in this same Wood of *Suspensions*, is frankly to communicate them with the Party that he *suspects*; for thereby he shall be sure to know more of the truth of them than he did before; and withal, shall make that Party more circumspect, not to give further cause of *Suspicion*. But this would not be done to Men of base Natures: For they, if they find themselves once *suspected*, will never be true. The *Italians* say, *Sospetto licentia fede*; as if *Suspicion* did give a Passport to Faith: But it ought rather to kindle it, to discharge it self.

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## XXXII.

## Of Discourse.

SOME in their *Discourse* desire rather commendation of Wit, in being able to hold all Arguments, than of Judgment in discerning what is true: As if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what should be thought

thought. Some have certain Common Places, and Themes, wherein they are good, and want variety; which kind of Poverty is for the most part tedious, and when it is once perceived, ridiculous. The honourablest part of Talk, is to give the Occasion, again, to moderate and pass to somewhat else; for then a Man leads the Dance. It is good in *Discourse* and Speech of Conversation, to vary and intermingle Speech of the present occasion with Arguments, Tales with Reasons, asking of Questions with telling of Opinions, and Jest with Earnest: For it is a dull thing to Tire, and as we say now, to Jade any thing too far. As for Jest, there be certain things which ought to be priviledged from it; namely, Religion, Matters of State, Great Persons, any Mans present Business of importance, and any Case that deserveth pity. Yet there be some that think their Wits have been asleep, except they dart out somewhat that is piquant, and to the quick: That is a vein which would be bridled.

*Parce, Puer, stimulis, & fortius utere loris.*

And generally men ought to find the difference between Saltness and Bitterness. Certainly he that hath a Satyrical Vein, as he maketh others afraid of his Wit, so he had need be afraid of others Memory. He that questioneth much, shall learn much, and content much; but especially if he apply his Questions to the skill of the Persons whom he asketh: For he shall give them oc-  
asion



casion to please themselves in speaking, and himself shall continually gather knowledg. But let his Questions not be troublesome; for that is fit for a Poser: And let him be sure to leave other Men their turns to speak. Nay, if there be any that would reign, and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and to bring others on, as Musicians use to do with those that dance too long Galliards. If you dissemble sometimes your knowledg of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought another time to know that you know not. Speech of a mans self ought to be seldom, and well chosen. I knew one was wont to say in scorn, *He must needs be a Wise Man, he speaks so much of himself*: And there is but one case, wherein a Man may commend himself with good Grace, and that is, in commending Vertue in another; especially if it be such a Vertue whereunto himself pretendeth. Speech of touch towards others should be sparingly used: For *Discourse* ought to be as a Field, without coming home to any Man. I knew two *Noblemen* of the West part of *England*, whereof the one was given to Scoff, but kept ever Royal Cheer in his House: The other would ask of those that had been at the others Table, *Tell truly, was there never a Flout or dry Blow given?* To which the Guest would answer, *Such and such a thing passed*: The Lord would say, *I thought he would mar a good Dinner*. Discretion of Speech is more than Eloquence; and to speak agreeably to him with whom we deal, is more than to speak in good words,

words, or in good order. A good continued Speech, without a good Speech of Interlocution, shews slowness; and a good Reply, or second Speech without a good settled Speech, sheweth shallowness and Weakness; as we see in Beasts, that those that are weakest in the Course, are yet nimblest in the Turn; as it is betwixt the Greyhound and the Hare. To use too many Circumstances e're one come to the Matter, is wearisome; to use none at all, is blunt.

## XXXIII.

## Of Plantations.

**P**LANTATIONS are amongst Ancient, Primitive, and Heroical Works. When the World was young, it begat more Children; but now it is old, it begets fewer: for I may justly account new *Plantations* to be the Children of former Kingdoms. I like a *Plantation* in a pure Soyl, that is, where People are not *Displanted*, to the end, to *Plant* others; for else it is rather an Extirpation, than a *Plantation*. *Planting* of Countries is like *Planting* of Woods; for you must make account to lose almost Twenty years Profit, and expect your Recompence in the end. For the principal thing that hath been the destruction of most *Plantations*, hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years. It is true, Speedy Profit is not to be neglected, as far  
as

as may stand with the good of the *Plantation*, but no further. It is a shameful and unblest thing, to take the Scum of People, and wicked condemned Men, to be the People with whom you *Plant*: And not only so, but it spoileth the *Plantation*; for they will ever live like Rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend Victuals, and be quickly weary; and then certifie over to their Country to the discredit of the *Plantation*. The People wherewith you *Plant*, ought to be Gardners, Plough-men, Labourers, Smiths, Carpenters, Joyners, Fishermen, Fowlers, with some few Apothecaries, Surgeons, Cooks, and Bakers. In a Countrey of *Plantation*, first look about what kind of Victual the Country yields of it self to Hand; as Chesnuts, Walnuts, Pine-Apples, Olives, Dates, Plumbs, Cherries, Wild-Honey, and the like, and make use of them. Then consider what Victual; or Esculent things there are, which grow speedily, and within the year; as Parsnips, Carrets, Turnips, Onions, Raddish, Artichoaks of *Jerusalem*, Maiz, and the like. For Wheat, Barly, and Oats, they ask too much labour: But with Pease and Beans you may begin, both because they ask less labour, and because they serve for Meat as well as for Bread. And of Rice likewise cometh a great increase, and it is a kind of Meat. Above all, there ought to be brought store of Bisket, Oat-meal, Flower, Meal, and the like, in the beginning, till Bread may be had. For Beasts and Birds, take chiefly such as are least subject

subject to Diseases, and multiply fastest; as Swine, Goats, Cocks, Hens, Turkeys, Geese, House-Doves, and the like. The *Victual* in *Plantations* ought to be expended, almost as in a besieged Town; that is, with a certain Allowance; and let the main part of the Ground employed to Gardens or Corn, be to a common stock, and to be laid in, and stored up, and then delivered out in Proportion, besides some Spots of ground that any particular Person will manure for his own private use. Consider likewise what Commodities the Soyl, where the *Plantation* is, doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the charge of the *Plantation*: So it be not, as was said, to the untimely Prejudice of the main business; as it hath fared with *Tobacco* in *Virginia*. Wood commonly aboundeth but too much, and therefore Timber is fit to be one. If there be Iron Ore, and Streams whereupon to set the Mills, Iron is a brave commodity where Wood aboundeth. Making of Bay Salt, if the Climate be proper for it, would be put in experience. Growing Silk likewise, if any be, is a likely commodity. Pitch and Tar, where store of Firs and Pines are, will not fail. So Drugs, and Sweet Woods, where they are, cannot but yield great profit. Soap Ashes likewise, and other things that may be thought of. But moyl not too much under Ground; for the hope of Mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the *Planter* lazy in other things. For Government, let it be in the hands of one assisted with

with some Counsel; and let them have Commission to exercise Martial Laws with some limitation. And above all, Let Men make that Profit of being in the Wilderness, as they have God always, and his service before their eyes. Let not the Government of the *Plantation* depend upon too many Counsellors and Undertakers in the Country that *Planters*, but upon a temperate number; and let those be rather Noblemen and Gentlemen, than Merchants; for they look ever to the present Gain. Let there be Freedoms for Custom, till the *Plantation* be of Strength; and not only Freedom from Custom, but Freedom to carry their Commodities, where they may make the best of them, except there be some special cause of Caution. Cram not in People, by sending too fast, Company after Company, but rather hearken how they waste, and send Supplies proportionably; but so, as the number may live well in the *Plantation*, and not by surcharge be in penury. It hath been a great endangering to the health of some *Plantations*, that they have built along the Sea and Rivers in marish and unwholesome Grounds. Therefore, though you begin there to avoid carriage, and other like discommodities, yet build still rather upwards from the Streams, than along. It concerneth likewise the health of the *Plantation*, that they have good store of Salt with them, that they may use it in their Victuals, when it shall be necessary. If you *Plant* where Savages are, do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles, but



use them justly and graciously, with sufficient guard nevertheless; and do not win their favour by helping them to invade their Enemies, but for their defence it is not amiss. And send off of them over to the Country that *Plant*, that they may see a better condition than their own, and commend it when they return. When the *Plantation* grows to strength, then it is time to *Plant* with Women as well as with Men, that the *Plantation* may spread into Generations, and not be ever pickt from without. It is the unfullest thing in the World to forsake or destitute a *Plantation* once in Forwardness; for besides the dishonour, it is guiltiness of Blood of many miserable Persons.

## XXXIV.

## Of Riches.

I Cannot call *Riches* better than the baggage of Vertue. The *Roman* word is better, *Impedimentum*; for as the Baggage is to an Army, so is *Riches* to Vertue. It cannot be spared, nor left behind, but it hindreth the March: Yea, and the care of it sometimes loseth or disturbeth the Victory. Of great *Riches* there is no real use, except it be in the Distribution, the rest is but conceit: So saith Solomon, *Where much is, there are many to consume it; and what hath the owner,*

owner, but the sight of it with his eyes? The Personal Fruition in any Man cannot reach to feel great *Riches*: There is a Custody of them, or a power of Dole and Donative of them, or a Fame of them, but no solid use to the owner. Do you not see what feigned Prices are set upon little Stones and Rarities? And what works of Ostentation are undertaken, because there might seem to be some use of great *Riches*? But then you will say, they may be of use to buy Men out of dangers or troubles: as Solomon saith, *Riches are a strong Hold in the Imagination of the Rich Man*. But this is excellently expressed, That it is in *Imagination*, and not always in *Fact*: For certainly great *Riches* have sold more Men than they have bought out. Seek not proud *Riches*, but such as thou mayest get justly, use soberly, distribute chearfully, and leave contentedly: Yet have no Abstract nor Frierly contempt of them, but distinguish, as Cicero saith well of *Rabirius Posthumus*; *In studio rei amplificanda apparebat, non Avaritia predam, sed instrumentum Bonitati, quari*. Harken also to Solomon, and beware of hasty gathering of *Riches*: *Qui festinat ad Divitias, non erit insons*. The Poets feign, that when *Plutus* (which is *Riches*) is sent from *Jupiter*, he limps and goes slowly; but when he is sent from *Pluto*, he runs, and is swift of foot; meaning, that *Riches* gotten by good means, and just labour, pace slowly: But when they come by the death of others, (as by the course of Inheritance, Testaments, and the like) they come tumbling

tumbling upon a Man. But it might be applied likewise to *Phro*, taking him for the Devil; for when *Riches* come from the Devil (as by Fraud, and Oppression, and unjust means) they come upon Speed. The *Ways to enrich* are many, and most of them foul; *Parfimony* is one of the best, and yet is not innocent; for it withholdeth Men from works of Liberality and Charity. The *Improvement of the ground* is the most natural obtaining of *Riches*; for it is our Great Mothers Blessing, the Earths, but it is slow; and yet where the Men of great wealth do stoop to Husbandry, it multiplieth *Riches* exceedingly. I knew a Nobleman of England, that had the greatest Audits of any Man in my time: A great Grasser, a great Sheep-Master, a great Timber-Man, a great Collier, a great Corn-Master, a great Lead-Man, and so of Iron, and a number of the like points of Husbandry; so as the Earth seemed a Sea to him in respect of the perpetual Importation. It was truly observed by One, that himself came very hardly to a little *Riches*, and very easily to great *Riches*; for when a Mans stock is come to that, that he can expect the Prime of Markets, and overcome those bargains, which for their greatness are few Meats money, and be Partner in the Industries of Younger Men, he cannot but increase mainly. The *Gains of ordinary Trades and Vocations* are honest, and furthered by two things, chiefly, by Diligence, and by a good Name, for good and fair dealings. But the *Gains of Bargains* are of a more doubtful Nature;

Nature, when Men shall wait upon others Necessity, broke by Servants and Instruments to draw them on, put off others cunningly that would be better Chapmen, and the like practices which are crafty and naught. As for the *Chopping of Bargains*, when a Man buys, not to hold, but to sell over again, that commonly grindeth double, both upon the Seller and upon the Buyer. *Sharings* do greatly *enrich*, if the Hands be well chosen that are trusted. *Usury* is the certainest means of Gain, though one of the worst; as that whereby a Man doth eat his Bread, *In sudore vultus alieni*: And besides, doth plough upon Sundays. But yet, certain though it be, it hath Flaws; for that the Scriveners and Brokers do value unsound Men to serve their own turn. The *Fortune*, in being the first in an *Invention*, or in a *Priviledg*, doth cause sometimes a wonderful overgrowth in *Riches*; as it was with the first Sugar-Man in the *Canaries*: therefore if a Man can play the true *Logician*, to have as well Judgment as Invention, he may do great matters, especially if the Times be fit. He that resteth upon *Gains Certain*, shall hardly grow to great *Riches*; and he that puts all upon *Adventures*, doth oftentimes break, and come to Poverty: It is good therefore to guard *Adventures* with *Certainties* that may uphold losses. *Monopolies* and *Coemtion* of Wares for *Resale*, where they are not restrained, are great means to *enrich*, especially if the Party have intelligence what things are like to come into request, and to store himself before-hand.

Riches

Riches gotten by *Service*, though it be of the best Rise, yet when they are gotten by Flattery, feeding Humours, and other servile Conditions, they may be placed amongst the Worst. As for fishing for *Testaments* and *Executorships*, (as *Tacitus* saith of *Seneca*, *Testamenta & Orbis tanquam Indagine capi*) it is yet worse. By how much men submit themselves to meaner persons, than in *Service*. Believe not much them that seem to despise *Riches*; for they despise them that despair of them, and none worse when they come to them. Be not Penny-wise; *Riches* have Wings, and sometimes they fly away of themselves; sometimes they must be set flying to bring in more. Men leave their *Riches* either to their Kindred, or to the Publick; and moderate Portions prosper best in both. A great State left to an Heir, is as a Lure to all the Birds of prey, round about to seize on him, if he be not the better established in Years and Judgment. Likewise glorious Gifts and Foundations are like *Sacrifices without Salt*, and but the *Painted Sepulchres of Alms*, which soon will putrifie and corrupt inwardly: Therefore measure not thine advancements by quantity, but frame them by measure; and defer not Charities till death; For certainly if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so is rather liberal of another mans, than of his own.



## XXXV.

## Of Prophecies.

I MEAN not to speak of Divine Prophecies, nor of Heathen Oracles, nor of Natural Predictions, but only of Prophecies that have been of certain Memory, and from hidden Causes. Saith the Pythomissa to Saul, *To morrow thou and thy Son shall be with me.* Homer hath these Verses,

*At domus Aenea cunctis dominabitur oris  
Et nati natorum, & qui nascentur ab illis.*

A Prophecy, as it seems, of the Roman Empire. Seneca, the Tragedian, hath these Verses,

*Venient Annis  
Secula feris, quibus Oceanus  
Vincula rerum laxet, & ingens  
Pateat Tellus, Tiphysque novos  
Detegat orbes, nec sit terris  
Ultima Thule.*

A Prophecy of the Discovery of America. The Daughter of Polycrates dreamed, that Jupiter bathed her Father, and Apollo anointed him; and it came to pass that he was Crucified in an open Place, where the Sun made his Body run with Sweat, and the Rain washed it. Philip of Macedon

don dreamed he sealed up his Wives Belly; whereby he did expound it that his Wife should be barren: But *Aristander* the Sooth-Sayer told him his Wife was with Child, because Men do not use to seal Vessels that are empty. A Phantasm that appeared to *M. Brutus* in his Tent, said to him, *Philippis iterum me videbis.* *Tiberius* said to *Galba*, *Tu quoque, Galba, degustabis Imperium.* In *Vespasian's* time, there went a Prophecy in the East, that those that should come forth of *Judea* should reign over the World: Which though it may be was meant of our Saviour, yet *Tacitus* expounds it of *Vespasian*. *Domitian* dreamed the night before he was slain, that a Golden Head was growing out of the Nape of his Neck: And indeed the Succession that followed him for many years made Golden Times. *Henry* the Sixth of *England*, said of *Henry* the Seventh, when he was a Lad, and gave him Water, *This is the Lad that shall enjoy the Crown for which we strive.* When I was in *France*, I heard from one Doctor *Pena*, that the *Queen Mother*, who was given to curious Arts, caused the King her Husband's Nativity to be Calculated under a false Name: And the Astrologer gave a Judgment, that he should be killed in a Duel; at which the Queen laughed, thinking her Husband to be above Challenges and Duels: But he was slain upon a Course at Tilt, the Splinters of the Staff of *Mongomerie* going in at his Bever. The trivial Prophecy that I heard when I was a Child, and *Queen Elizabeth* was in the Flower of her Years, was;

*When Hempe is spun,  
England's done.*

Whereby it was generally conceived, that after the Princes had Reigned, which had the principal Letters of that Word *Hempe*, (which were *Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth,*) *England* should come to utter Confusion; which thanks be to God is verified in the Change of the Name; for that the King's Style is no more of *England*, but of *Britain*. There was also another *Prophecy*, before the Year of 88. which I do not well understand:

*There shall be seen upon a day,  
Between the Baugh and the May,  
The Black Fleet of Norway.  
When that is come and gone,  
England build Houses of Lime and Stone,  
For after Wars shall you have none.*

It was generally conceived to be meant of the *Spanish Fleet* that came in 88. For that the King of *Spain's* Sirname, as they say, is *Norway*. The Prediction of *Regiomontanus*,

*Octogessimus octavus mirabilis Annus,*

Was thought likewise accomplished, in the sending of that great Fleet, being the greatest in strength, though not in number, that ever swam upon

upon the Sea. As for *Cleon's* Dream, I think it was a Jest: It was, That he was devoured of a long Dragon; and it was expounded of a Maker of Sausages that troubled him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind, especially if you include *Dreams* and *Predictions* of *Astrology*. But I have set down these few only of certain credit for example. My judgment is, that they ought all to be despised, and ought to serve but for winter-talk by the fire-side: Though, when I say *Despised*, I mean it as for belief; for otherwise, the spreading or publishing of them is in no sort to be *Despised*; for they have done much mischief. And I see many severe Laws made to suppress them. That that hath given them grace, and some credit, consisteth in three things: First, That Men mark when they hit, and never mark when they miss; as they do generally also of *Dreams*. The second is, That probable Conjectures, or obscure Traditions, many times turn themselves into *Prophecies*, while the Nature of Man, which coveteth *Divination*, thinks it no peril to foretel that which indeed they do but collect: As that of *Seneca's* Verse. For so much was then subject to Demonstration, that the Globe of the Earth had great Parts beyond the *Atlantick*; which might be probably conceived not to be all Sea: And adding thereto, the Tradition in *Plato's* *Timæus*, and his *Atlantick*, it might encourage one to turn it to a *Prediction*. The third and Last (which is the Great one) is, That almost all of them, being infinite in

number, have been Impositions, and by idle and crafty Brains meerly contrived and feigned after the Event past.

## XXXVI.

*Of Ambition.*

**A**MBITION is like *Choler*, which is an Humour that maketh Men Active, Earnest, full of Alacrity, and Stirring, if it be not stopped: But if it be stopped, and cannot have his way, it becometh Aduft, and thereby Malign and Venomous. So *Ambitious Men*, if they find the way open for their Rising, and still get forward, they are rather Busie than Dangerous; but if they be checkt in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and look upon Men and Matters with an Evil Eye, and are best pleased when things go backward, which is the worst property in a Servant of a Prince or State. Therefore it is good for Princes, if they use *Ambitious Men*, to handle it so, as they be still Progressive, and not Retrograde; which, because it cannot be without inconvenience, it is good not to use such Natures at all. For if they rise not with their Service, they will take order to make their Service fall with them. But since we have said, it were good not to use Men of *Ambitious Natures*, except it be upon necessity, it is fit we speak in what cases they are of necessity.

Good



Good Commanders in the Wars must be taken, be they never so *Ambitious*; for the use of their Service dispenseth with the rest; and to take a Soldier without *Ambition*, is to pull off his Spurs. There is also great use of *Ambitious Men*, in being Screens to Princes in matters of danger and Envy; for no man will take that part, except he be like a feeld Dove, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him. There is use also of *Ambitious Men*, in pulling down the greatness of any Subject that over-tops; as *Tiberius* used *Macro* in pulling down of *Sejanus*. Since therefore they must be used in such cases, thereresteth to speak how they are to be bridled, that they may be less *Dangerous*. There is less *Danger* of them, if they be of mean Birth, than if they be Noble; and if they be rather harsh of Nature, than Gracious and Popular; and if they be rather new raised, than grown cunning, and fortified in their Greatness. It is counted by some a weakness in Princes to have *Favourites*; but it is of all others the best remedy against *Ambitious Great Ones*. For when the way of pleasuring and displeasuring lieth by the *Favourite*, it is impossible any other should be *Over-great*. Another means to curb them, is to ballance them by others as proud as they. But then there must be some middle Counsellors to keep things steady; for without that Ballast the Ship will roul too much. At the least, a Prince may animate and inure some meaner Persons, to be as it were Scourges to *Ambitious Men*. As for the having of

of them obnoxious to ruine, if they be of fearful Natures, it may do well; but if they be stout and daring, it may precipitate their Designs, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them down, if the Affairs require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddenly, the only way is, the interchange continually of Favours and disgraces; whereby they may not know what to expect, and be as it were in a Wood. Of *Ambitions*, it is less harmful the *Ambition* to prevail in great things, than that other to appear in every thing; for that breeds confusion, and mars business. But yet it is less Danger, to have an *Ambitious Man* stirring in business, than great in dependences. He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able Men, hath a great task; but that is ever good for the Publick; but he that plots to be the only Figure amongst Cyphers, is the decay of an whole Age. *Honour* hath three things in it: The Vantage Ground to do good, the approach to Kings and Principal Persons, and the raising of a Manspown Fortunes. He that hath the best of these Intentions when he aspireth, is an honest Man; and that Prince that can discern of these Intentions in another that aspireth, is a wise Prince. Generally, let Princes and States chuse such Ministers as are more sensible of Duty, than of Rising; and such as love Business rather upon Conscience, than upon Bravery; and let them discern a busie Nature from a willing Mind.

## XXXVII.

*Of Masks and Triumphs.*

THESE Things are but Toys, to come amongst such serious Observations. But yet, since Princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with Elegancy, than daubed with Cost. *Dancing to Song*, is a thing of great State and Pleasure. I understand it, that the Song be in Choir, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken Musick, and the Ditty fitted to the Device. *Acting in Song*, especially in *Dialogues*, hath an extream good Grace: I say *Acting*, not *Dancing*, (for that is a mean and vulgar thing) and the *Voices* of the *Dialogue* would be strong and manly, (a Base, and a Tenor, no Treble,) and the Ditty High and Tragical, not Nice or Dainty. *Several Choirs* placed one over against another, and taking the Voice by Catches, *Anthem-wise*, give great Pleasure. *Turning Dances into Figure* is a childish curiosity; and generally let it be noted, that those things which I here set down, are such as do naturally take the Sense, and not respect petty Wonderments. It is true, the *Alterations of Scenes*, so it be quietly, and without noise, are things of great Beauty and Pleasure; for they feed and relieve the Eye, before it be full of the same Object. Let the *Scenes* abound with *Light*, specially

*specially Coloured and Varied*; and let the *Mas-*  
*kers*, or any other that are to come down from  
 the *Scene*, have some motions upon the *Scene* it  
 self, before their coming down; for it draws the  
 Eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure  
 to desire to see that it cannot perfectly discern.  
 Let the *Songs* be *Loud* and *Cheerful*, and not  
*Chirpings* or *Pulings*. Let the *Musick* likewise be  
*Sharp* and *Loud*, and well placed. The *Colours*  
 that shew best by Candle-light, are *White*, *Car-*  
*nation*, and a kind of *Sea-water Green*; and  
*Oes* or *Spangs*, as they are of no great Cost, so  
 they are of most *Glory*. As for *Rich Embroidery*,  
 it is lost, and not discerned. Let the *Suits* of  
*Maskers* be graceful, and such as become the Per-  
 son when the *Vizards* are off, not after examples  
 of known Attires; *Turks*, *Soldiers*, *Mariners*,  
 and the like. Let *Anti-masks* not be long, they  
 have been commonly of *Fools*, *Satyrs*, *Baboons*,  
*Wild-men*, *Antiques*, *Beasts*, *Spirits*, *Witches*, *E-*  
*thiops*, *Pigmies*, *Turquets*, *Nymphs*, *Rusticks*,  
*Cupids*, *Statua's* moving, and the like. As for  
*Angels*, it is not Comical enough to put them in  
*Anti-masks*; and any thing that is hideous, as  
*Devils*, *Gyants*, is on the other side as unfit.  
 But chiefly, let the *Musick* of them be *Recreative*,  
 and with some strange *Changes*. Some *Sweet*  
*Odours* suddenly coming forth, without any  
 drops falling, are in such a *Company*, as there  
 is *Steam* and *Heat*, things of great pleasure and  
 refreshment. *Double Masks*, one of *Men*, ano-  
 ther of *Ladies*, addeth *State* and *Variety*. But  
 all

all is nothing, except the Room be kept clear and neat.

For *Justs*, and *Turneys*, and *Barriers*, the Glories of them are chiefly in the Chariots, wherein the Challengers make their Entry, specially if they be drawn with strange Beasts, as Lions, Bears, Camels, and the like; or in the Devices of their Entrance, or in the bravery of their Liveries, or in the goodly Furniture of their Horses and Armour. But enough of these toys.

## XXXVIII.

## Of Nature in Men.

**N**ATURE is often Hidden, sometimes Overcome, seldom Extinguished. Force maketh *Nature* more violent in the Return; Doctrine and Discourse maketh *Nature* less importune; But Custom only doth alter and subdue *Nature*. He that seeketh Victory over his *Nature*, let him not set himself too great, nor too small Tasks, for the first will make him dejected, by often Failings; and the second will make him a small Proceeder, though by often Prevailings. And at the first, let him practise with Help, as Swimmers do with Bladders or Ropes; but after a time let him practise with disadvantages, as Daners do with thick Shoors: For it breeds great Perfection, if the practice be harder than the Use. Where *Nature* is mighty, and



and therefore the Victory hard, the Degrees had need be, First, to stay and arrest *Nature* in time, like to him that would say over the Four and Twenty Letters when he was Angry, than to go less in quantity : As if one should in forbearing Wine, come from drinking Healths to a Draught at a Meal, and lastly to discontinue altogether. But if a Man have the Fortitude and Resolution to enfranchise himself at once, that is the best ;

*Optimus ille animi vindex, ludentia pectus  
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel.*

Neither is the Ancient Rule amiss to bend *Nature*, as a wand to a contrary Extream, whereby to set it right, understanding it where the contrary Extream is no Vice. Let not a Man force a Habit upon himself with a perpetual Continuance, but with some Intermillion ; for both the Pause re-inforceth the new Onset : And if a Man that is not perfect be ever in practice, he shall as well practise his Errors, as his Abilities, and induce one Habit of both ; and there is no means to help this, but by seasonable Intermillion. But let not a Man trust his Victory over his *Nature* too far ; for *Nature* will lie buried a great time, and yet revive upon the Occasion of Temptation. Like as it was with *Asop's* Damself, turned from a Cat to a Woman, who sate very demurely at the Beards end, till a Mouse run before her. Therefore let a Man either avoid the Occasion altogether, or put himself often to it,  
that

that he may be little moved with it. A Mans *Nature* is best perceived in privateness, for there is no Affectation in Passion, for that putteth a Man out of his Precepts; and in a new Case of Experiment, for there Custom leaveth him. They are happy Men whose *Natures* sort with their Vocations, otherwise they may say, *Multum Incola fuit Anima mea*; when they converse in those they do not affect. In Studies whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it; but whatsoever is agreeable to his *Nature*, let him take no care for any set Times, for his thoughts will fly to it of themselves; so as the spaces of other business or Studies will suffice. A Mans *Nature* runs either to Herbs or Weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other.

## XXXIX.

## Of Custom and Education.

**M**ENS Thoughts are much according to their Inclination; their Discourse and Speeches according to their Learning and infused Opinions; but their Deeds are after as they have been *accustomed*. And therefore as *Machiavel* well noteth, (though in an ill-favoured Instance) there is no trusting to the force of Nature nor to the bravery of Words, except it be corroborate by *Custom*. His instance is, that for the

the atchieving of a desperate Conspiracy, a Man should not rest upon the fierceness of any Mans Nature, or his resolute undertakings; but take such an one as hath had his hands formerly in Blood. But *Machiavel* knew not of a Frier *Clements*, nor a *Ravilliat*, nor a *Jureguy*, nor a *Baltazer Gerard*; yet this Rule holdeth still, that Nature, nor the Engagement of Words are not so forcible as *Customs*. Only Superstition is now so well advanced, that Men of the first blood are as firm as Butchers by Occupation, and Votary Resolution is made Equivallent to *Custom*, even in matter of blood. In other things the predominancy of *Custom* is every where visible, in so much as a man would wonder to hear men Profess, Protest, Engage, give great Words, and then do just as they have done before, as if they were dead Images, and Engines moved only by the wheels of *Custom*. We see also the Reign or Tyranny of *Custom*, what it is. The *Indians* (I mean the Sect of their Wise Men) lay themselves quietly upon a stack of Wood, and so Sacrifice themselves by fire. Nay, the Wives strive to be burned with the Corps of their Husbands. The Lads of *Sparta* of ancient time, were wont to be scourged upon the Altar of *Diana* without so much as Squeeking. I remember in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* time, of England, an *Irish Rebel* condemned, put up a Petition to the Deputy, that he might be hanged in a Wyth, and not in an Halter, because it had been so used with former Rebels. There be Monks in *Russia*, for Pen-

Pennance, that will sit a whole night in a Vessel of Water, till they be engaged with hard Ice. Many Examples may be put down of the Force of *Custom*, both upon mind and body. Therefore since *Custom* is the Principal Magistrate of Man's life, let Men by all means endeavour to obtain good *Customs*. Certainly *Custom* is most perfect when it beginneth in young years: This we call *Education*, which is in effect but an *early Custom*. So we see in Languages, the Tongue is more pliant to all Expressions and Sounds, the Joynts are more supple to all Feats of Activity and motions in Youth than afterwards. For it is true, the late Learners cannot so well take the ply, except it be in some minds that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare. But if the Force of *Custom*, Simple and Separate, be great, the Force of *Custom* Copulate, and Conjoyned, and Collegiate, is far greater. For their Example teacheth, Company comforteth, Emulation quickneth, Glory ralleth: So as in such Places the Force of *Custom* is in his Exaltation. Certainly the great multiplication of Virtues upon human Nature, resteth upon Societies well ordained and disciplined: for Commonwealths and good Governments do nourish Virtue Grown, but do not much mend the Seeds. But the misery is, that the most effectual Means are now applied to the Ends least to be desired.

## XL.

## Of Fortune.

IT cannot be denied, but outward accidents conduce much to *Fortune*: Favour, Opportunity, Death of others, Occasion fitting Virtue. But chiefly the mould of a *Man's Fortune* is in his own hands. *Faber quisque Fortuna sua*, saith the Poet. And the most frequent of External Causes is, that the Folly of one man is the *Fortune* of another. For no man prospers so suddenly, as by others errors. *Serpens nisi Serpentem comederit non fit Draco*. Overt and Apparent Virtues bring forth Praise; but there be Secret and Hidden Virtues that bring forth *Fortune*. Certain Deliveries of a *Man's self*, which have no Name, The Spanish Name, *Desembolsura*, partly expresseth them, when there be not Stands nor Restiveness in a *Man's Nature*, but that the Wheels of his *Mind* keep way with the Wheels of his *Fortune*. For so *Livy* (after he had described *Cato Major*, in these words, *In illo viro, tantum Robur Corporis & Animi fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, Fortunam sibi facturus videretur*) falleth upon that, that he had *Versatile Ingenium*. Therefore if a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see *Fortune*: For though she be blind, yet she is not invisible. The way of *Fortune* is like the *Milkie Way* in the Skie, which is a Meeting  
or



or Knot of a number of small Stars; not seen a-sunder, but giving Light together: So are there a number of little, and scarce discerned Virtues, or rather Faculties and Customs that make men *Fortunate*. The *Italians* note some of them, such as a Man would little think: When they speak of one that cannot do amiss, they will throw in into his other Conditions that he hath, *Poco di Malto*. And certainly, there be not two more *Fortunate* properties, than to have a little of the Fool, and not too much of the Honest. Therefore extream Lovers of their Country, or Masters, were never *Fortunate*, neither can they be. For when a man placeth his thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own way. An hasty *Fortune* maketh an Enterpriser and Remover; (the *French* hath it better, *Enterprenant* or *Remuant*) but the exercised *Fortune* maketh the able Man. *Fortune* is to be Honoured and Respected, if it be but for her Daughters, *Confidence* and *Reputation*: For those two *Felicity* breedeth; the first, within a Man's self, the latter in others towards him. All wise men to decline the Envy of their own Virtues, use to ascribe them to Providence and *Fortune*; for so they may the better assume them: And besides, it is Greatness in a Man to be the Care of the Higher Powers. So *Cæsar* said to the Pilot in the Tempest, *Cæsarem porras, O Fortunam ejus*. So *Sylla* chose the Name of *Felix*, and not of *Magnus*. And it hath been noted, that those that ascribe openly too much to their own Wisdom and Policy, end *Unfortunate*.

It is written; That *Timotheus* the *Athenian*, after he had, in the account he gave to the State of his Government, often interlaced his Speech, And in this Fortune had no part; never prospered in any thing he undertook afterwards. Certainly there be, whose Fortunes are like *Homer's Verses*, that have a Slide and easiness more than the Verses of other Poets, as *Plutarch* saith of *Timotheon's Fortune*, in respect of that of *Agésilas*, or *Epaminondas*: And that this should be, no doubt it is much in a Man's self.

## XLI.

## Of Usury.

**M**AN Y have made witty *Invectives* against *Usury*. They say, That it is pity the Devil should have God's part, which is the *Tale*. That the *Usurer* is the greatest *Sabbath-breaker*, because his Plough goeth every Sunday. That the *Usurer* is the *Drone*, that *Virgil* speaketh of:

*In haurum fucus pecus à praesepibus arcent.*

That the *Usurer* breaketh the first Law that was made for Mankind after the Fall; which was, *In sudore vultus tui comedes panem tuum*, not, *In sudore vultus alieni*. That *Usurers* should have *Orange-tawny Banners*, because they do *Judaize*.

That

That it is against Nature, for Money to beget Money, and the like. I say this only, That Usury is a *Concessum propter dunitatem cordis*: For since there must be Borrowing and Lending, and Men are so hard of Heart, as they will not lend freely, Usury must be permitted. Some others have made Suspicious and Cunning Propositions of Banks, discovery of Men's Estates, and other Inventions, but few have spoken of Usury usefully. It is good to set before us the *Incommodities* and *Commodities* of Usury, that the good may be either Weighed out, or Culled out; and warily to provide, that while we make forth to that which is better, we meet not with that which is worse.

The *Discommodities* of Usury are, first, That it makes fewer Merchants; for were it not for this lazy Trade of Usury, Money would not lie still, but would in great part be employed upon Merchandising, which is the *Fons Portus* of Wealth in a State. The second, That it makes poor Merchants; for as a Farmer cannot husband his Ground so well, if he be at a great Rent: So the Merchant cannot drive his Trade so well, if he sit at great Usury. The third is incident to the other two; and that is, The decay of Customs, of Kings, or States, which Ebb or Flow with Merchandizing. The fourth, That it bringeth the Treasure of a Realm or State into a few hands; for the Usurer being at Certainties, and others at Uncertainties, at the end of the Game most of the Money will be in the Box;

and ever a State flourisheth, when Wealth is more equally spread. The fifth, That it beats down the price of Land; for the employment of Money is chiefly either Merchandizing or Purchasing; and *Usury* way-lays both. The Sixth, That it doth dull and damp all Industries, Improvements, and new Inventions, wherein Money would be stirring, if it were not for this Slug. The last, That it is the Canker and Ruine of many Men's Estates, which in process of time breeds a publick Poverty.

On the other side, the *Commodities* of *Usury* are: First, That howsoever *Usury* in some respect hindreth Merchandizing, yet in some other it advanceth it; for it is certain, that the greatest part of Trade is driven by young Merchants, upon borrowing at Interest: So as if the *Usurer* either call in, or keep back his Money, there will ensue presently a great stand of Trade. The second is, That were it not for this easie borrowing upon *Interest*, Mens necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing, in that they would be forced to sell their Means (be it Lands or Goods) far under foot; and so whereas *Usury* doth but gnaw upon them, bad Markets would swallow them quite up. As for Mortgaging or Pawning, it will little mend the matter; for either men will not take Pawns without *Use*, or if they do, they will look precisely for the Forfeiture. I remember a cruel Monied Man in the Country, that would say, The Devil take this *Usury*, it keeps us from Forfeitures of Mortgages

gages and Bonds. The third and last is, That it is a vanity to conceive, that there would be ordinary borrowing without profit; and it is impossible to conceive, the number of Inconveniences that will ensue, if borrowing be cramped: Therefore to speak of the abolishing of *Usury* is idle. All States have ever had it in one kind, or rate or other: so as that opinion must be sent to *Utopia*.

To speak now of the *Reformation and Reiglement of Usury*, how the *Discommodities* of it may be best avoided, and the *Commodities* retained. It appears by the Ballance of *Commodities* and *Discommodities* of *Usury*, two things are to be reconciled: The one, that the *Tooth of Usury* be grinded, that it bite not too much: The other, that there be left open a means to invite Monied Men to lend to the Merchants, for the Continuing and Quickning of Trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce two several sorts of *Usury*, a *less* and a *greater*. For if you reduce *Usury* to one low rate, it will ease the *Common Borrower*, but the *Merchant* will be to seek for Money. And it is to be noted, that the Trade of Merchandize, being the most *Lucrative*, may bear *Usury* at a good rate; other Contracts not so.

To serve both Intentions the way would be chiefly thus: That there be two Rates of *Usury*, the one Free and General for all, the other under Licence only to certain Persons, and in certain Places of Merchandizing. First therefore, let *Usury*



*in general be reduced to Five in the Hundred, and let that Rate be proclaimed to be Free and Current; and let the State shut it self out to take any penalty for the same. This will preserve Borrowing from any general Stop or Dryness. This will ease infinite Borrowers in the Country. This will in good part raise the price of Land, because Land purchased at Sixteen years purchase, will yield Six in the Hundred, and somewhat more, whereas this Rate of Interest yields but Five. This by reason will encourage and edg Industrious and Profitable Improvements, because many will rather venture in that kind, than take Five in the Hundred, especially having been used to greater profit. Secondly, Let there be certain Persons Licensed to lend to known Merchants, upon Usury, at a High Rate; and let it be with the Cautions following. Let the Rate be, even with the Merchant himself, somewhat more easie than that he used formerly to pay: for by that means all Borrowers shall have some ease by this Reformation, be he Merchant or whosoever. Let it be no Bank or Common Stock, but every man be master of his own Money. Not that I altogether dislike Banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain suspitions. Let the State be answered some small matter for the License, and the rest left to the Lender; for if the Abatement be but small, it will no whit discourage the Lender. For he, for example, that took before Ten or Nine in the Hundred, will sooner descend to Eight in the Hundred, than give over*  
his

his Trade of *Usury*, and go from Certain Gains to Gains of Hazard. Let these Licensed Lenders be in number indefinite, but restrained to certain principal Cities and Towns of Merchandizing, for then they will be hardly able to colour others mens moneys in the Country; so as the Licence of Nine will not suck away the current Rate of Five; for no man will Lend his Moneys far off, nor put them into unknown hands.

If it be objected, That this doth in a sort Authorize *Usury*, which before was in some places but permissive: The Answer is, that it is better to mitigate *Usury* by Declaration, than to suffer it to rage by *Connivence*.

### Of Youth and Age.

**A** Man that is *Young* in Years, may be Old in Hours, if he have lost no time, but that happeneth rarely. Generally *Youth* is like the first Cogitations, not so wise as the second; for there is a *Youth* in Thoughts as well as in Ages. And yet the Invention of *Young Men* is more lively than that of Old, and Imaginations stream into their minds better, and, as it were, more Divinely. Natures that have much heat, and great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for Action till they have passed the Meridian

ridian of their years; as it was with *Julius Caesar*, and *Septimus Severus*, of the latter of whom it is said, *Juventutem egit Erroribus, imo Furoribus plenam*; and yet he was the ablest Emperor almost of all the List. But reposed Natures may do well in *Youth*, as it is seen in *Augustus Caesar*, *Cosmus Duke of Florence*, *Gaston de Foix*, and others. On the other side, Heat and Vivacity in *Age* is an excellent Composition for business. *Young Men* are fitter to invent than to judge, fitter for Execution than for Counsel, and fitter for new projects than for settled business, for the Experience of *Age* in things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them, but in new things abuseth them. The Errors of *Young Men* are the ruin of business; but the Errors of *Aged Men* amount but to this, that more might have been done or sooner. *Young Men* in the conduct and mannage of Actions embrace more than they can hold, stir more than they can quiet, fly to the end without consideration of the means and degrees, pursue some few Principles which they have chanced upon absurdly, care not to innovate, which draws unknown Inconveniencies: Use extream Remedies at first, and that which doubleth all Errors, will not acknowledge or retract them, like an unready Horse, that will neither Stop nor Turn. *Men of Age* object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive business home to the full period, but content themselves with a mediocrity of Success. Certainly it is good to  
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compound *Employments* of both; for that will be good for the *present*, because the virtues of either *Age* may correct the defects of both, and good for *Succession*, that *Young Men* may be Learners, while *Men* in *Age* are Actors. And lastly, good for *Extern Accidents*, because Authority followeth *Old Men*, and Favour and Popularity *Youth*. But for the moral part perhaps *Youth* will have the preheminance, as *Age* hath for the politick. A certain *Rabbin* upon the Text, *Your Young Men shall see visions, and your Old Men shall dream dreams*, inferreth, that *Young Men* are admitted nearer to God than *Old*, because *Vision* is a clearer Revelation than a *Dream*. And certainly the more a Man drinketh of the World, the more it intoxicateth; and *Age* doth profit rather in the powers of Understanding, than in the Virtues of the Will and Affections. There be some have an over-early Ripeness in their years, which fadeth betimes: These are first such as have brittle *Wits*, the edge whereof is soon turned; such as was *Hermogenes* the *Rhetorician*, whose Books are exceeding subtil, who afterwards waxed stupid. A second sort is of those that have some natural Dispositions which have better grace in *Youth* than in *Age*; such as is a fluent and luxuriant Speech, which becomes *Youth* well, but not *Age*: So *Tully* saith of *Horsensius* *Idem manebat, neque idem decebat*. The third is, of such as take to high a strain at the first, and are magnanimous more than Tract of years can uphold: As was *Scipio Africanus*,  
or

of whom *Livy* saith in effect, *Ultima primis cedebant*.

## XLIII.

## Of Beauty.

**V**ERTUE is like a rich Stone, best plain set; and surely, Vertue is best in a Body that is comely, though not of delicate Features, and that hath rather Dignity of Presence, than Beauty of Aspect. Neither is it almost seen that very *Beautiful Persons* are otherwise of great Vertue, as if Nature were rather busie not to err, than in labour to produce Excellency; and therefore they prove accomplished, but not of great Spirit, and study rather Behaviour than Vertue. But this holds not always, for *Augustus Caesar*, *Titus Vespasianus*, *Philip le Belle of France*, *Edward the fourth of England*, *Alcibiades of Athens*, *Ismael the Sophy of Persia*, were all high and great Spirits, and yet the most *Beautiful Men* of their times. In *Beauty*, that of *Favour* is more than that of *Colour*; and that of *decent* and *gracious Motion*, more than that of *Favour*. That is the best part of *Beauty* which a Picture cannot express, no nor the first sight of the Life. There is no excellent *Beauty* that hath not some strangeness in the proportion. A Man cannot tell, whether *Apelles* or *Albert Durer* were the more trisler; whereof the one would make a Person-



age by Geometrical Proportions, the other by taking the best Parts out of divers Faces to make one excellent. Such Personages I think would please no body, but the Painter that made them. Not but I think a Painter may make a better Face than ever was, but he must do it by a kind of *Felicity*, (as a Musitian that maketh an excellent Air in Musick) and not by Rule. A Man shall see Faces, that if you examine them part by part, you shall find never a good, and yet altogether do well. If it be true, that the principal part of *Beauty* is in decent motion, certainly it is no marvel, though *Persons* in *Years* seem many times more amiable, *Pulchrorum Autumnum pulcher*, for no *Youth* can be comely, but by pardon, and considering the *Youth*, as to make up the comeliness. *Beauty* is as Summer-Fruits, which are easie to corrupt, and cannot last, and for the most part it makes a dissolute *Youth*, and an *Age*, a little out of countenance; but yet certainly again, if it light well, it maketh Vertues shine, and Vices blush.

## XLIV.

## Of Deformity.

**D**EFORMED *Persons* are commonly even with Nature; for as Nature hath done ill by them, so do they by Nature, being for the most part (as the Scripture saith) void

of

of *Natural Affection*, and so they have Revenge of Nature. Certainly, there is a consent between the body and the mind, and where Nature erreth in the one, she ventureth in the other; *Ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero*. But because there is in Man an Election touching the Frame of his mind, and a Necessity in the Frame of his body, the Stars of natural Inclination are sometimes obscured by the Sun of Discipline and Vertue: Therefore it is good to consider of *Deformity*, not as a Sign which is more deceivable, but as a Cause which seldom faileth of the Effect. Whosoever hath any thing fixed in his Person that doth induce Contempt, hath also a perpetual Spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from Scorn. Therefore all *Deformed Persons* are extream bold. First, as in their own Defence, as being exposed to Scorn, but in process of time, by a general Habit. Also it stirreth in them industry, and especially of this kind, to watch and observe the weakness of others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Again, in their Superiors, it quencheth Jealousie towards them, as Persons that they think they may at pleasure despise; and it layeth their Competitors and Emulators asleep, as never believing they should be in possibility of Advancement, till they see them in Possession; so that upon the matter in a great Wit, *Deformity* is an advantage to Rising. Kings in ancient times (and at this present in some Countries) were wont to put great Trust in *Eunuchs*; because they that  
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are envious to all, are more obnoxious and officious towards one. But yet their Trust towards them hath rather been as to good Spials, and good whisperers, than good Magistrates and Officers. And much like is the Reason of Deformed Persons. Still the ground is, they will if they be of Spirit, seek to free themselves from Scorn, which must be either by Vertue or Malice; and therefore let it not be marvelled if sometimes they prove excellent Persons; as was *Aesclaus*, *Zanger* the Son of *Solyman*, *Aescop*, *Casca* President of *Pern*, and *Socrates* may go likewise amongst them, with others.

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## XLV.

## Of Building.

**H**OUSES are built to live in, and not to look on: Therefore let Use be preferred before Uniformity, except where both may be had. Leave the goodly Fabricks of *Houses*, for Beauty only, to the *Enchanted Palaces* of the *Poets*, who build them with small cost. He that builds a fair *House* upon an *ill Seat*, committeth himself to Prison. Neither do I reckon it an *ill Seat* only where the Air is unwholesome, but likewise where the Air is unequal; as you shall see many fine *Seats* set upon a knap of Ground, environed with higher Hills round about it, whereby the Heat of the Sun is pent in, and the Wind

Wind gathereth as in Troughs; so as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great Diversity of Heat and Cold, as if you dwelt in several Places. Neither is it *ill Air* only that maketh an *ill Seat*, but ill ways, ill Markets; and if you will consult with *Momus*, ill Neighbours. I speak not of any more: Want of Water, want of Wood, Shade and Shelter, want of Fruitfulness, and mixture of Grounds of several Natures, want of Prospect, want of level Grounds; want of Places at some near Distance for Sports of Hunting, Hawking, and Races; Too near the Sea, too remote, having the Commodity of Navigable Rivers, or the Discommodity of their Overflowing; Too far off from great Cities, which may hinder Business, or too near them which lurcheth all Provisions, and maketh every thing dear: Where a Man hath a great Living laid together, and where he is scanted. All which, as it is impossible perhaps to find together, so it is good to know them, and think of them, that a Man may take as many as he can; And if he have several Dwellings, that he sort them so, that what he wanteth in the one, he may find in the other. *Lucullus* answered *Pompey* well, who when he saw his Stately Galleries and Rooms so large and lightsome in one of his Houses, said, Surely an excellent Place for Summer, but how do you in Winter? *Lucullus* answered, Why do you not think me as wise as some Rowl are, that ever change their abode towards the Winter?

To pass from the *Seat* to the *House* it self, we will do as *Cicero* doth in the *Orator's Art*, who writtes Books *De Oratore*, and a Book he Entitles *Orator*; whereof the former delivers the Precepts of the *Art*, and the latter The *Perfection*. We will therefore describe a *Princely Palace*, making a brief model thereof. For it is strange to see now in *Europe* such huge *Buildings*; as the *Vatican*, and *Escorial*, and some others be, and yet scarce a very fair Room in them.

First therefore, I say, You cannot have a perfect *Palace*, except you have two severall Sides; a Side for the *Banquet*, as is spoken of in the Book of *Hester*, and a Side for the *Household*; the one for Feasts and Triumphs, and the other for Dwelling. I understand both these Sides to be not only Returns, but Parts of the *Front*, and to be uniform without, though severally Partitivoned within, and to be on both sides of a great and *Stately Tower* in the midst of the *Front*, that as it were joyneth them together on either hand. I would have on the side of the *Banquet* in *Front* one only goodly Room above Stairs, of some forty foot high, and under it a Room for a *Dressing* or *Preparing Place* at times of Triumphs. On the other side, which is the *Household* side, I wish be divided at the first into a *Hall* and a *Chappel*, (with a Partition between) both of good state and bigness, and those not to go all the length, but to have at the further end a *Winter* and a *Summer Parlor*, both fair; and under these Rooms, a fair and large *Cellar* sunk under

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Ground;



Ground; and likewise some *Privy Kitchens*, with *Butteries* and *Pantries*, and the like. As for the *Tower*, I would have it two *Stories*, of eighteen foot high apiece above the two *Wings*, and goodly *Leads* upon the *Top*, railed with *Statues* interposed, and the same *Tower* to be divided into *Rooms* as shall be thought fit; the *Stairs* likewise to the upper *Rooms*, let them be upon a fair open *Newel*; and finely railed in with *Images* of *Wood*, cast into a *Brass* colour, and a very fair *Landing Place* at the *Top*. But this to be, if you do not point any of the lower *Rooms* for a *Dining Place* of *Servants*, for otherwise you shall have the *Servants Dinner* after your own; for the steam of it will come up as in a *Tunnel*. And so much for the *Front*, only I understand the *Heighth* of the first *Stairs* to be sixteen foot which is the *Heighth* of the lower *Room*.

Beyond this *Front* is there to be a fair *Court*, but three sides of it of a far lower *Building* than the *Front*. And in all the four *Corners* of that *Court* fair *Stair Cases*, cast into *Turrets* on the outside, and not within the *Row* of *Buildings* themselves. But those *Towers* are not to be of the height of the *Front*, but rather proportionable to the lower *Building*. Let the *Court* not be *Paved*, for that striketh up a great *Heat* in *Summer*, and much *Cold* in *Winter*; but only some *Side-Alleys*, with a *Crois*, and the *Quarters* to *Graze* being kept *Shorn*, but not too near *Shorn*. The *Row* of *Reveries* on the *Banquet Side*, let it be all *Stately Galleries*, in which *Galleries* let there

be three or five fine *Cupols* in the length of it, placed at equal distance, and five *Coloured Windows* of several Works. On the Household side *Chambers* of *Presence* and ordinary Entertainment, with some *Bed-Chambers*, and let all three Sides be a double House, without thorow Lights on the Sides, that you may have Rooms from the Sun, both for Fore-noon and After-noon. Cast it also, that you may have Rooms both for Summer and Winter, Shady for Summer, and Warm for Winter. You shall have sometimes fair *Houses* so full of Glass, that one cannot tell where to become to be out of the Sun, or Cold, for *Inbowed Windows* I hold them of good use; (in Cities indeed *Upright* do better, in respect of the Uniformity towards the Streets) for they be pretty Retiring Places for Conference; and besides, they keep both the Wind and the Sun off: For that which would strike almost through the Room, doth scarce pass the *Window*. But let them be but few, four in the *Cours* on the Sides only.

Beyond this *Court* let there be an *Inward Court* of the same Square and Heighth, which is to be environed with the *Garden* on all sides; and in the inside Cloistered upon all sides; upon decent and beautiful *Arches*, as high as the first Story. On the *Under Story* towards the *Garden*, let it be turned to a *Grotto*, or place of Shade or Estivation; and only have opening and *Windows* towards the *Garden*, and be level upon Floor, no whit sunk under Ground, to avoid all dampness:

ness: And let there be a *Fountain*, or some fair *Work of Statua's* in the midst of this *Court*, and to be Paved as the other *Court* was. These *Buildings* to be for *Privy Lodgings* on both Sides, and the End for *Privy Galleries*: whereof you must fore-see that one of them be for an *Infirmariy*, if the Prince or any special Person should be Sick, with *Chambers*, *Bed-Chambers*, *Anticamera*, and *Recamera*, joyning to it: This upon the second Story. Upon the *Ground Story* a fair *Gallery*, open upon *Pillars*; and upon the *third Story* likewise, an open *Gallery* upon *Pillars*, to take the Prospect and Freshness of the *Garden*. At both Corners of the furthest Side, by way of Return, let there be two *Delicate* or *Rich Cabinets*, daintily Paved, Richly Hanged, Glazed with *Cry-stalline Glass*, and a *Rich Capole* in the midst, and all other Elegancy that may be thought upon. In the *Upper Gallery* too I wish that there may be, if the Place will yield it, some *Fountains* running in divers Places from the Wall, with some fine *Avoidances*. And thus much for the model of the *Palace*; save that you must have, before you come to the *Front*, three *Courts*; and a *Green Court Plain*, with a Wall about it; a *Second Court* of the same, but more *Garnished*, with little *Turrets*, or rather *Embellishments* upon the Wall; and a *third Court*, to make a *Square* with the *Front*, but not to be Built, nor yet Enclosed with a *Naked Wall*, but Enclosed with *Parasses* leaded aloft, and fairly *Garnished* on the three sides, and *Cloystered* on the inside with

with Pillars, and not with Arches below. As for Offices, let them stand at distance with some Low Galleries, to pass from them to the Palace it self.

## XLVI.

## Of Gardens.

**G**OD Almighty first Planted a Garden; and indeed it is the purest of Human pleasures. It is the greatest refreshment to the Spirits of Man; without which, Buildings and Palaces are but gross Handy-works. And a Man shall ever see, that when Ages grow to Civility and Elegancy, Men come to Build Stately, sooner than to Garden Finely: as if Gardening were the greater Perfection. I do hold it in the Royal Ordering of Gardens, there ought to be Gardens for all the Months in the Year, in which, severally, things of Beauty may be then in season. For December and January, and the latter part of November, you must take such things as are green all Winter; Holly, Ivy, Bays, Juniper, Cypress Trees, Eughs, Pine-Apple Trees, Fir-Trees, Rosemary, Lavender, Perriwinckle the White, the Purple, and the Blew, Germander, Flags, Orange-Trees, Lemmon-Trees, and Myrtle, if they be stoved, and sweet Marjoram warm sets. There followeth for the latter part of January and February, the Mezerion Tree, which then blossoms, Crocus Vernus, both the Yellow and

the Grey, Prim-Roses, Anemones, the Early Tulippa, Hyacinthus Orientalis, Chamaeiris, Frettellaria. For *March* there comes Violets, specially the Single Blew, which are Earliest, the Yellow Daffadil, the Daizy, the Almond-Tree in Blossom, the Peach-Tree in Blossom, the Cornelian-Tree in Blossom, sweet Briar. In *April* follow the double White Violet, the Wall-Flower, the Stock Gilly-Flower, the Cowslip, Flower-de-Lices, and Lillies of all Natures, Rosemary-Flower, the Tulippa, the Double Piony, the Pale Daffadil, the French Honey-Suckle, the Cherry-Tree in Blossom, the Damascen and Plumb-Trees in Blossom, the White Thorn in Leaf, the Lelack-Tree. In *May* and *June* come Pinks of all sorts, specially the Blush-Pink, Roses of all kinds, except the Musk, which comes later, Honey Suckles, Strawberries, Bugloss, Columbine, the French Marygold, Flos Africanus, Cherry-Tree in Fruit, Ribes, Figs in Fruit, Raspes, Vine-Flowers, Lavender in Flowers, the Sweet Satyrian with the White Flower, Herba Muscaria, Liliū Convallium, the Apple-Tree in Blossom. In *July* come Gilly-Flowers of all Varieties, Musk-Roses, and the Lime-Tree in Blossom, Early Pears and Plumbs in Fruit, Ginnittings, Quadlings. In *August* come Plumbs of all sorts in Fruit, Pears, Apricocks, Barberies, Filbeards, Musk-Melons, Monks-hoods of all Colours. In *September* comes Grapes, Apples, Poppies of all Colours, Peaches, Melo-Cotones, Nectarines, Cornelians, Wardens, Quinces. In *October* and the



the beginning of *November*, come *Services*, *Medlars*, *Bullifes*; *Roses* Cut or Removed to come late, *Hollyoaks*, and such like. These particulars are for the *Climate* of *London*: But my meaning is perceived, that you may have *Ver Perpetuum*, as the place affords.

And because the *Breath* of *Flowers* is far *Sweeter* in the *Air*, (where it comes and goes, like the *Warbling* of *Musick*) than in the *Hand*, therefore nothing is more fit for that *Delight*, than to know what be the *Flowers* and *Plants* that do best perfume the *Air*. *Roses* *Damask* and *Red* are *Flowers* tenacious of their *Smells*, so that you may walk by a whole *Row* of them, and find nothing of their *Sweetness*; yea, though it be in a *Morning Dew*. *Bays* likewise yield no *Smell* as they grow, *Rosemary* little, nor *Sweet-Marjoram*. That which above all others yields the *Sweetest Smell* in the *Air*, is the *Violet*, specially the *White double Violet*, which comes twice a year, about the middle of *April*, and about *Bartholomew-tide*. Next to that is the *Musk Rose*, then the *Strawberry Leaves* dying with a most excellent *Cordial Smell*. Then the *Flower* of the *Vines*, it is a little *Dust*, like the *Dust* of a *Bent*, which grows upon the *Cluster* in the first coming forth. Then *Sweet-Briar*, then *Wall-Flowers*, which are very delightful to be set under a *Parlour*, or lower *Chamber Window*. Then *Pinks* and *Gilly-Flowers*, specially the *matted Pink*, and *Clove Gilly-Flower*. Then the *Flowers* of the *Lime-Tree*. Then the *Hony-Suckles*.

Suckles, so they be somewhat afar off. Of Bean-Flowers I speak not, because they are Field-Flowers. But those which perfume the Air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being Trodden upon and Crushed, are three, that is, Burnet, Wild-Time, and Water-Mints. Therefore you are to set whole Alleys of them, to have the Pleasure when you walk or tread.

For Gardens, (speaking of those which are indeed Prince-like, as we have done of Buildings) The Contents ought not well to be under Thirty Acres of Ground, and to be divided into three parts; a Green in the entrance, a Heath or Desert in the going forth, and the Main Garden in the midst, besides Alleys on both sides. And I like well, that four Acres of Ground be Assigned to the Green, six to the Heath, four and four to either Side, and twelve to the Main Garden. The Green hath two pleasures; the one, because nothing is more pleasant to the Eye than Green Grass kept finely shorn; the other, because it will give you a fair Alley in the midst, by which you may go in front upon a Stately Hedge, which is to enclose the Garden. But because the Alley will be long, and in great Heat of the Year or Day, you ought not to buy the shade in the Garden, by going in the Sun through the Green; therefore you are of either Side the Green to plant a Coverd Alley upon Carpenters Work, about twelve foot in Height, by which you may go in shade into the Garden. As for the making of Knots of Figures, with Divers Coloured Earths,

that they may lye under the Windows of the House, on that Side, which the Garden stands, they be but toys, you may see as good sights many times in Tarts. The Garden is best to be square, encompassed on all the four Sides with a Stately Arched Hedge: the Arches to be upon Pillars of Carpenters Work, of some ten foot high, and six foot broad, and the spaces between of the same Dimension with the Breadth of the Arch. Over the Arches let there be an Entire Hedge, of some four foot high, framed also upon Carpenters Work, and upon the Upper Hedge, over every Arch a little Turret, with a Belly, enough to receive a Cage of Birds; and over every Space between the Arches some other little Figure, with broad Plates of Round Coloured Glass gilt, for the Sun to play upon. But this Hedge I intend to be raised upon a Bank, not steep, but gently slope, of some six foot, set all with Flowers. Also I understand, that this Square of the Garden, should not be the whole breadth of the Ground, but to leave on the either side Ground enough for diversity of Side Alleys, unto which the two Coverd Alleys of the Green may deliver you; but there must be no Alleys with Hedges at either end of this great Inclosure: not at the Higher End, for letting your prospect upon this fair Hedge from the Green; nor at the further End, for letting your prospect from the Hedge through the Arches upon the

For

For the ordering of the Ground within the Great Hedge, I leave it to Variety of Device. Advising nevertheless, that whatsoever form you cast it into; first it be not too busie, or full of Work; wherein I, for my part, do not like *Impaget* out in Juniper, or other Garden-stuff; they be for Children. Little low Hedges, Round like Welts, with some pretty Pyramids, I like well; And in some places Fair Columns upon Frames of Carpenters Work. I would also have the Alleys spacious and fair. You may have closer Alleys upon the Side Grounds, but none in the Main Garden. I wish also in the very middle a fair Mount, with three Ascents and Alleys, enough for four to walk abreast; which I would have to be perfect Circles, without any Bulwarks or Imbolments, and the whole Mount to be thirty foot high, and some fine Banquetting House, with some Chimneys neatly cast, and without too much Glass.

For Fountains, they are a great Beauty and Refreshment, but Pools mar all, and make the Garden unwholsome, and full of Flies and Frogs. Fountains I intend to be of two Natures, the one that sprinkles or spouts Water, the other a fair Receipt of Water, of some thirty or forty foot square; but without Fish, or Slime, or Mud. For the first, the Ornaments of Images Gilt, or of Marble, which are in use, do well; but the main matter is, so to convey the Water, as it never stay, either in the Bowls, or in the Cistern, that the Water be never by rest Discoloured, Green or Red,

or the like; or gather any *Mossiness* or *Putrefaction*. Besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the hand; also some steps up to it, and some *Fine Pavement* about it doth well. As for the other kind of *Fountain*, which we may call a *Bathing-Pool*, it may admit much *Curiosity* and *Beauty*, wherewith we will not trouble our selves; as that the bottom be finely paved, and with *Images*, the sides likewise; and withal *Embellished* with coloured *Glass*, and such things of *Lustre*; Encompassed also with fine *Rails* of low *Statues*. But the main point is the same, which we mentioned in the former kind of *Fountain*, which is, that the *Water* be in *perpetual motion*, fed by a *Water* higher than the *Pool*, and delivered into it by fair *Spouts*, and then discharged away under *Ground* by some equality of *Bores*, that it stay little. And for fine *Devices* of *Arching Water* without *spilling*, and making it rise in several forms (of *Feathers*, *Drinking-Glasses*, *Canopies*, and the like) they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to *Health* and *Sweetness*.

For the *Heath*, which was the third part of our *Plot*, I wish it to be framed, as much as may be, to a *Natural Wildness*. *Trees* I would have none in it, but some *Thickets*, made only of *Sweet-Briar*, and *Hony-Suckle*, and some *Wild-Plum* amongst, and the *Ground* set with *Viola's*, *Strawberries* and *Primroses*: for these are *Sweet* and prosper in the *Shade*. And these to be in the *Heath*, here and there, not in any order. I like also little *Heaps*, in the *Nature* of *Mole-Hills* (such



(such as are in *Wild-Heaths*) to be set, some with Wild-Thyme, some with Pinks, some with Germander, that gives a good flower to the eye; some with Periwinkle, some with Violets, some with Strawberries, some with Cuslipsis, some with Daizies, some with Red-Roses, some with Lillium Convallium, some with Sweet-Williams Red, some with Bears-foot, and the like Low Flowers, being withal Sweet and Sightly. Part of which *Heaps*, to be with *Standards*, of little *Bushes*, prickt upon their top, and part without; the *Standards* to be Roses, Juniper, Holly, Bear-berries (but here and there, because of the smell of their blossom) Red Currans, Gooseberries, Rosemary, Bays, Sweet-Briar, and such like. But these *Standards* to be kept with Cutting, that they grow not out of Course.

For the *Side Grounds*, you are to fit them with variety of *Alleys*, private, to give a full shade, some of them, wheresoever the Sun be. You are to frame some of them, likewise for shelter, that when the Wind blows sharp, you may walk as in a Gallery. And those *Alleys* must be likewise hedged at both ends, to keep out the Wind. and these *closer Alleys* must be ever finely Gravelled, and no Grass, because of going wet. In many of these *Alleys* likewise, you are to set *Fruit Trees* of all sorts; as well upon the Walls, as in Ranges. And this would be generally observed, that the *Borders* wherein you plant your *Fruit-Trees*, be fair and large, and low, and not steep, and set with *fine Flowers*, but thin and sparingly,

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lest they deceive the *Trees*. At the end of both the *side Grounds*, I would have a *Mount* of some pretty Height, leaving the Wall of the Enclosure breast-high, to look abroad into the fields.

For the *Main Garden*, I do not deny, but there should be some fair *Alleys* ranged on both sides with *Fruit-Trees*, and some pretty Tufts of *Fruit-Trees* and *Arbors* with *Seats*, set in some decent Order; but these to be by no means set too thick; but to leave the *Main Garden* so, as it be not close, but the Air open and free; for as for *Shade* I would have you rest upon the *Alleys* of the *Side Grounds*, there to walk, if you be disposed, in the Heat of the Year or Day: but to make account, that the *Main Garden* is for the more temperate parts of the Year; and in the Heat of Summer, for the Morning, and the Evening, or Over-cast Days.

For *Aviaries*, I like them not, except they be of that largeness, as they may be *curfed*, and have *Living Plants* and *Bushes* set in them, that the *Birds* may have more scope, and natural Nestling, and that no *foulness* appear in the floor of the *Aviary*. So I have made a Plat-form of a *Princely Garden*, partly by Precept, partly by Drawing, not a Model, but some general Lines of it, and in this I have spared for no Cost. But it is nothing, for *Great Princes*, that for the most part taking advice with Work-men, with no less Cost, set their things together, and sometimes add *Statues* and such things, for State and Magnificence, but nothing to the true pleasure of a *Garden*.

Of

## XLVII.

## Of Negotiating.

**I**T is generally better to *deal* by Speech, than by Letter; and by the mediation of a Third, than by a mans self. Letters are good, when a man would draw an Answer by Letter back again; or when it may serve for a mans Justification afterwards to produce his own Letter, or where it may be danger to be interrupted or heard by pieces. To *deal in Person* is good, when a mans face breedeth Regard, as commonly with Inferiors; or in tender Cases, where a mans Eye, upon the Countenance of him with whom he speaketh, may give him a Direction how far to go: And generally where a man will reserve to himself liberty either to *Disavow*, or to *Expound*. In choice of *Instruments*, it is better to chuse men of a plainer sort that are like to do that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the success, than those that are cunning to contrive out of other mens Business somewhat to grace themselves, and will help the matter in Report for satisfaction sake. Use also such Persons as affect the business wherein they are imployed, for that quickeneth much; and such as are fit for the matter: As bold men for Expostulation, fair spoken men for Persuasion, crafty men for Enquiry and Observation, froward and absurd men

for business that doth not well bear out it self. The also such as have been lucky, and prevailed before in things wherein you have employed them, for that breeds confidence, and they will strive to maintain their Prescription. It is better to sound a Person with whom one *Deals* afar off, than to fall upon the point at first; except you mean to surprise him by some short Question. It is better *Dealing* with men in Appetite, than with those that are where they would be. If a man *Deal* with another upon Conditions, the start of the first Performance is all, which a man cannot reasonably Demand, except either the nature of the thing be such which must go before; or else a man can perswade the other Party that he shall still need him in some other thing; or else that he be counted the honestest man. All Practice is to *Discover*, or to *Work*. Men *Discover* themselves in Trust, in Passion, at unawares, and of necessity, when they would have somewhat done, and cannot find an apt Pretext. If you would *Work* any man, you must either know his nature and fashions, and so lead him; or his ends, and so perswade him; or his weakness and disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have Interest in him, and so govern him. In *Dealing* with cunning Persons we must ever consider their ends to interpret their Speeches; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least look for. In all *Negotiations* of difficulty a man may not look too sow and reap at once, but must prepare business, and so ripen it by degrees.

of

## XLVIII.

*Of Followers and Friends.*

**C***COSTLY Followers* are not to be liked, lest while a man maketh his Train longer, he makes his Wings shorter. I reckon to be costly, not them alone which charge the Purse, but which are wearisome and importunate in Suits. Ordinary *Followers* ought to challenge no higher Conditions than Countenance, Recommendation, and Protection from wrongs. Factious *Followers* are worse to be liked, which follow not upon Affection to him with whom they range themselves, but upon Discontentment conceived against some other; whereupon commonly ensueth that ill Intelligence that we many times see between great Parsonages. Likewise glorious *Followers* who make themselves as Trumpets of Commendation of those that follow, are full of Inconvenience; for they taint business through want of Secrecy, and they export Honour from a Man, and make him a return in Envy. There is a kind of *Followers* likewise which are dangerous, being indeed *Espials*; which enquire the secrets of the House, and bear Tales of them to other; yet such men, many times, are in great favour; for they are officious, and commonly exchange Tales, the *Following* by certain *Espies* of men, answerable to that which a great Person himself



himself professeth, (as of Souldiers to him that hath been employed in the Wars, and the like) hath ever been a thing Civil, and well taken even in Monarchies; so it be without too much pomp of popularity. But the most honourable kind of *Following*, is to be followed, as one that apprehendeth to advance Vertue and Desert in all sorts of Persons. And yet where there is no eminent odds in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable, than with the more able. And besides, to speak truth, in base times Active men are of more use than Vertuous. It is true; that in Government it is good to use men of one Rank equally; for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent, because they may claim a due. But contrariwise, in favour to use men with much difference and election is good; for it maketh the Persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious, because all is of favour. It is good discretion not to make too much of any man at the first; because one cannot hold out that proportion. To be governed (as we call it) by one, is not safe; for it shews Softness, and gives a freedom to Scandal and Disreputation; for those that would not censure or speak ill of a man immediately, will talk more boldly of those that are so great with them, and thereby wound their honour, yet to be distracted with many is worse; for it makes men to be of the last Impression, and full of Change. To take advice of some few *Friends* is ever honourable;

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for *Lookers on*, many times, see more than *Gamesters*, and the *Vale* best discovereth the *Hill*. There is little *Friendship* in the *World*, and least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is between *Superior* and *Inferior*, whose *Fortunes* may comprehend one the other.

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 XLIX.

*Of Suitors.*

**M**ANY ill matters and projects are undertaken, and private *Suits* do putrifie the publick Good. Many good matters are undertaken with bad minds, I mean, not only corrupt minds, but crafty minds that intend not Performance. Some embrace *Suits* which never mean to deal effectually in them; but if they see there may be life in the matter by some other mean, they will be content to win a *Thank*, or take a second *Reward*, or at least to make use in the mean time of the *Suitors* hopes. Some take hold of *Suits* only for an occasion to cross some other; or to make an information, whereof they could not otherwise have apt *Pretext*, without care what become of the *Suit* when that turn is serv'd; or generally, to make other mens business a kind of *Entertainment* to bring in their own. Nay, some undertake *Suits* with a full purpose to let them fall, to the end, to gratifie the adverse Party

or

or Competitor. Surely there is in some sort a Right in every *Suit*; either a Right of Equity, if it be a *Suit* of Controversie; or a Right of Desert, if it be a *Suit* of Petition. If Affection lead a man to favour the wrong side in Justice, let him rather use his Countenance to compound the matter, than to carry it. If Affection lead a man to favour the less worthy in Desert, let him do it without depraving or disabling the better Deserver. In *Suits* which a man doth not well understand, it is good to refer them to some Friend of Trust and Judgment, that may report, whether he may deal in them with Honour; but let him chuse well his Referendaries, for else he may be led by the Nose. *Suitors* are so distasted with Delays and Abuses, that plain dealing in denying to deal in *Suits* at first, and reporting the success barely, and in challenging no more thanks than one hath deserved, is grown not only Honourable, but also Gracious. In *Suits* of Favour, the first coming ought to take little place; so far forth Consideration may be had of his trust, that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise have been had, but by him, advantage be not taken of the Note, but the Party left to his other means, and in some sort recompenced for his Discovery. To be ignorant of the value of a *Suit* is simplicity; as well as to be ignorant of the Right thereof is want of Conscience. Secrecy in *Suits* is a great mean of obtaining; for voycing them to be in forwardness, may discourage some kind of *Suitors*;

tors; but doth quicken and awaken others; but Timing of the *Suit* is the principal. Timing, I say, not only in respect of the Person that should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to cross it. Let a man in the choice of his mean, rather chuse the fittest mean, than the greatest mean; and rather them that deal in certain Things, than those that are General. The Reparation of a Denial, is sometimes equal to the first Grant; if a man shew himself, neither dejected, nor discontented: *Iniquum petas, ut Equum feras*; is a good rule, where a man hath strength of Favour: But otherwise a man were better rise in his *Suit*; for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the *Suit*, will not in the Conclusion lose both the *Suit*, and his own former favour. Nothing is thought so easie a request to a great Person as his Letter; and yet, if it be not in a good Cause, it is so much out of his Reputation. There are no worse Instruments than these general Contrivers of *Suits*, for they are but a kind of poyson and infection to publick proceedings.

*Of Studies.*

**S**TUDIES serve for delight, for Ornament, and for Ability. Their chief use for Delight is in Privateness and Retiring; for Ornament is in Discourse; and for Ability, is in the Judgment and Disposition of Business. For expert men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars one by one; but the general Counsels, and the Plots, and Marshalling of Affairs, come best from those that are *Learned*. To spend too much time in *Studies* is sloth; to use them too much for Ornament is affectation; to make Judgment wholly by their Rules is the humour of a Scholar. They perfect Nature, and are perfected by experience: for Natural Abilities are like Natural Plants, that need Proyning by *Study*, and *Studies* themselves do give forth Directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty men contemn *Studies*, Simple men admire them, and Wise men use them: For they teach not their own use, but that is a Wisdom without them, and above them, won by Observation. Read not to Contradict and Confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find Talk and Discourse, but to weigh and consider. Some *Books* are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be



be chewed and digested; that is, some *Books* are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiously; and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention. Some *Books* also may be read by Deputy, and Extracts made of them by others: But that would be only in the less important Arguments, and the meaner sort of *Books*, else distilled *Books* are like common distilled Waters, flashy things. Reading maketh a full man; Conference a ready man; and Writing an exact man. And therefore, if a man Write little, he had need have a great memory; if he Confer little, he had need have a present wit; and if he Read little, he had need have much cunning to seem to know that he doth not. *Histories* make men Wise, *Poets* Witty, the *Mathematicks* Subtil, *Natural Philosophy* Deep, *Moral* Grave, *Logick* and *Rhetorick* able to Contend. *Absent Studia in Mores*; Nay, there is no Stand or Impediment in the Wit, but may be wrought out by fit *Studies*: Like as Diseases of the Body may have appropriate Exercises. Bowling is good for the Stone and Reins, Shooting for the Lungs and Brest, Gentle Walking for the Stomach, Riding for the Head, and the like. So if a mans Wit be wandering, let him Study the *Mathematicks*; for in Demonstrations, if his Wit be called away never so little, he must begin again: If his Wit be not apt to distinguish or find differences, let him Study the *School-Men*; for they are *Cumini sectores*. If he be not apt to be it over matters, and to call up one thing to prove and

and illustrate another, let him *Study* the *La myers Cases*; so every Defect of the mind may have a special Receipt.

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## LI.

## Of Faction.

**M**ANY have an Opinion not Wise; that for a Prince to govern his Estate, or for a great Person to govern his Proceedings, according to the respect of *Factions*, is a principal part of Policy; whereas contrariwise, the chiefest Wisdom is, either in ordering those things which are General, and wherein men of several *Factions* do nevertheless agree; or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons one by one. But I say not, that the consideration of *Factions* is to be neglected. Mean men in their rising must adhere, but great men that have strength in themselves, were better to maintain themselves indifferent and Neutral: Yet even in beginners to adhere so moderately, as he be a man of the one *Faction*, which is most passable with the other, commonly giveth best way. The lower and weaker *Faction* is the firmer in Conjunction: and it is often seen, that a few that are stiff, do tire out a great number that are more moderate. When one of the *Factions* is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth: As the *Faction* between *Lucullus*, and the rest of the Nobles of the Se-

nate (which they called *Optimates*) held out a while against the *Faction* of *Pompey* and *Caesar*, but when the Senates Authority was pulled down, *Caesar* and *Pompey* soon after brake. The *Faction* or Party of *Antonius*, and *Octavianus Caesar*, against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, held out likewise for a time: But when *Brutus* and *Cassius* were overthrown, then soon after *Antonius* and *Octavianus* brake and subdivided. These examples are of Wars, but the same holdeth in private *Factions*: And therefore those that are Seconds in *Factions*, do many times, when the *Faction* subdivideth, prove Principals; but many times also they prove Cyphers and cashier'd. For many a mans strength is in opposition, and when that faileth, he groweth out of use. It is commonly seen, that men once placed, take in with the contrary *Faction* to that, by which they enter, thinking belike that they have their first sure, and now are ready for a new Purchase. The Traitor in *Faction* lightly goeth away with it; for when matters have stuck long in Ballancing, the winning of some one man casteth them, and he getteth all the thanks. The even carriage between two *Factions*, proceedeth not always of moderation, but of a trueness to a mans self, with end to make use of both. Certainly in *Italy*, they hold it a little suspect in *Popes*, when they have often in their mouth *padre commune*, and take it to be a Sign of one that meaneth to refer all to the greatness of his own House. Kings had need beware, how they side themselves, and make

make themselves as of a *Faction* or Party; for Leagues within the State are ever pernicious to Monarchies; for they raise an Obligation, Paramount to Obligation of Sovereignty, and make the King, *Tanquam unus ex nobis*; as was to be seen in the *League of France*. When *Factions* are carried too high, and too violently, it is a sign of weakness in Princes, and much to the prejudice both of their Authority and Business. The motions of *Factions* under Kings, ought to be like the motions (as the *Astronomers* speak) of the Inferior Orbs, which may have their proper motions, but yet still are quietly carried by the higher motion of *Primum Mobile*.

## LII.

## Of Ceremonies and Respects.

**H**E that is only real, had need have exceeding great parts of Virtue; as the Stone had need to be rich, that is set without foil. But if a man mark it well, it is in praise and commendation of men, as it is in gettings and gains: For the Proverb is true, *That light gains makes heavy purses*; for light gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then. So it is true, that small matters win great commendation, because they are continually in use, and in note; whereas the occasion of any great Virtue cometh but on Festivals. Therefore it doth much add to a Man's

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mans Reputation, and is, (as Queen *Isabella* said) *Like perpetual Letters Commendatory*, to have good forms. To attain them, it almost sufficeth not to despise them; for so shall a man observe them in others: And let him trust himself with the rest. For if he labour too much to express them, he shall lose their Grace, which is to be Natural and Unaffected. Some mens behaviour is like a Verse, wherein every Syllable is measured. How can a man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind too much to small observations? Not to use *Ceremonies* at all, is to teach others not to use them again; and so diminish respect to himself: especially, they are not to be omitted to strangers, and formal Natures: But the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the Moon, is not only tedious, but doth diminish the faith and credit of him that speaks. And certainly, there is a kind of conveying of effectual and imprinting Passions amongst Complements, which is of singular use, if a man can hit upon it. Amongst a mans Peers, a man shall be sure of familiarity; and therefore it is good a little to keep State. Amongst a mans Inferiours, one shall be sure of Reverence; and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. He that is too much in any thing, so that he giveth another occasion of Society, maketh himself cheap. To apply ones self to others is good, so it be with Demonstration, that a man doth it upon regard, and not upon facility. It is a good Precept generally in seconding another, yet to add somewhat

somewhat of ones own: As if you would grant his opinion, let it be with some distinction; if you will follow his Motion, let it be with Condition; if you allow his Counsel, let it be with alledging further Reason. Men had need beware, how they be too perfect in Complements: For be they never so sufficient otherwise, their enviers will be sure to give them that Attribute, to the disadvantage of their greater Vertues. It is loss also in business, to be too full of respects, or to be too curious in observing Times and Opportunities. Solomon saith, *He that considereth the Wind shall not sow, and he that looketh to the Clouds shall not reap.* A wise man will make more opportunities than he finds. Mens Behaviour should be like their Apparel, not too Strait, or point device, but free for Exercise or Motion.

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## LIII.

## Of Praise.

**P**Raise is the Reflection of Vertue, but it is as the Glass or Body which giveth the Reflection. If it be from the common People, it is commonly false and naught, and rather followeth vain Persons than vertuous. For the common People understand not many excellent vertues: the lowest vertues draw praise from them, the middle vertues work in them Astonishment

ment or Admiration, but of the highest Virtues they have no sense or perceiving at all, but shews and *Species virtutibus similes* serve best with them. Certainly Fame is like a River, that beareth up things light and swoln, and drowns things weighty and solid: But if Persons of Quality and Judgment concur, then it is, (as the Scripture saith) *Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrans*. It filleth all round about, and will not easily away: For the Odours of Oyntments are more durable than those of Flowers. There be so many false Points of Praise that a man may justly hold it a suspect. Some Praises proceed meerly of Flattery, and if he be an ordinary Flatterer, he will have certain common Attributes, which may serve evary man: If he be a cunning Flatterer, he will follow the Arch Flatterer, which is a man's self: And wherein a man thinketh best of himself, therein the Flatterer will uphold him most; but if he be an impudent Flatterer, look wherein a man is conscious to himself that he is most defective, and is most out of Countenance in himself, that will the Flatterer Entitle him to perforce, *Spreta Conscientia*. Some Praises come of good wishes and respects, which is a form due in Civility to Kings and great Persons, *Laudando precipere*, when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should be. Some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy and jealousie towards them, *Pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium*, insomuch as it was a Proverb amongst the

the Grecians; that he that was praised to his hurt should have a push rise upon his Nose; as we say, That a blister will rise upon ones Tongue that sell a lye. Certainly moderate praise, used with opportunity, and not vulgar, is that which doth the good. Solomon saith, He that praiseth his friend aloud, rising early, it shall be to him no better than a Curse. Too much magnifying of a man or matter, doth irritate contradiction, and procure envy and scorn. To praise a man's self cannot be decent, except it be in rare cases; but to praise a Man's Office or Profession, he may do it with good Grace, and with a kind of Magnanimity. The Cardinals of Rome, which are Theologues, and Fryers, and School-men have a Phrase of notable contempt and scorn towards civil business: For they call all Temporal business, of Wars, Embassages, Judicature, and other employments, *Shirveri*, which is *Under-Sheriffries*, as if they were but matters for Under-Sheriffs and Catchpoles: though many times those *Under-Sheriffries* do more good than their high speculations. Saint Paul, when he boasts of himself, he doth oft interlace; *I speak like a Fool*; but speaking of his Calling, he saith, *Magnifico Apostolatum meum*.



## LIV.

## Of Vain Glory.

**I**T was prettily devised of *Æsop*, *The Fly* sat upon the *Axletree* of the *Chariot-Wheel*, and said, *What a Dust do I raise?* So are there some vain Persons, that whatsoever goeth alone, or moveth upon greater means, if they have never so little hand in it, they think it is they that carry it. They that are glorious, must needs be factious; for all bravery stands upon comparisons. They must needs be violent, to make good their own vaunts. Neither can they be secret, and therefore not effectual; but according to the *French Proverb*, *Beaucoup de Bruit, peu de Fruit*; *Much Bruit, little Fruit*. Yet certainly there is use of this Quality in Civil Affairs. Where there is an Opinion and Fame to be created, either of Virtue or Greatness; these men are good Trumpeters. Again, as *Titus Livius* noteth in the case of *Antiochus*, and the *Æolians*, *There are sometimes great effects of cross Lies*: As if a man that Negotiates between two Princes, to draw them to joyn in a War against the third, doth extol the Forces of either of them above measure, the one to the other: And sometimes he that deals between man and man, ralleth his own credit with both, by pretending greater Interest than he hath in either. And in these and the like

like kinds, it often falls out, that somewhat is produced of nothing: For Lies are sufficient to breed Opinion, and Opinion brings on Substance. In Military Commanders and Souldiers, Vain Glory is an essential Point: For as Iron sharpens Iron, so by Glory one Courage sharpeneth another. In cases of great Enterprize, upon Charge and Adventure, a Composition of Glorious Natures doth put Life into Business; and those that are of solid and sober Natures have more of the Ballast than of the Sail. In Fame of Learning the Flight will be slow, without some Feathers of Ostentation. *Qui de contemnenda Gloria Libros scribunt, Nomen suum inscribunt.* Socrates, Aristotle, Galen, were men full of Ostentation. Certainly Vain Glory helpeth to perpetuate a man's Memory; and Virtue was never so beholden to human Nature, as it received his due at the Second Hand. Neither had the Fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus, born her Age so well, if it had not been joyned with some Vanity in themselves; like unto Varnish, that makes Cielings not only shine, but last. But all this while, when I speak of Vain Glory, I mean not of that property that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus, *Omnium qua dixerat, feceratque, Arte quadam Ostentator*: For that proceeds not of Vanity, but of Natural Magnanimity and Discretion: And in some Persons, is not only Comely, but Gracious. For Excusations, Cessions, Modesty it self well governed, are but Arts of Ostentation. And amongst those Arts, there is none better

better than that which *Plinius Secundus* speaketh of, which is to be liberal of Praise and Commendation to others, in that wherein a man's self hath any Perfection. For, saith *Pliny* very wittily, *In commending another, you do your self right: For he that you commend, is either Superior to you, in that you commend, or Inferior. If he be Inferior, if he be to be commended, you much more: If he be Superior, if he be not to be commended, you much less Glorious.* Men are the scorn of wise men, the admiration of Fools, the Idols of Parasites, and the Slaves of their own Vaunts.

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## LV.

*Of Honour and Reputation.*

THE Winning of *Honour* is but the revealing of Man's Virtue and Worth without Disadvantage. For some in their Actions do woo and affect *Honour* and *Reputation*; which sort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired. And some, contrariwise, darken their Virtue in the shew of it, so as they be undervalued in Opinion. If a man perform that which hath not been attempted before, or attempted and given over, or hath been achieved, but not with so good circumstance, he shall purchase more *Honour*, than by affecting a matter of greater difficulty or virtue, wherein he is but a follower. If a man so temper his Actions;

Actions, as in some one of them he doth content every Faction or Combination of People, the Musick will be the fuller. A man is an ill Husband of his Honour that entrencheth into any Action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more, than the carrying of it through can Honour him. Honour that is gained and broken upon another, hath the quickest reflection, like Diamonds cut with Facets. And therefore let a man contend to excel any Competitors of his in Honour, in out-shooting them, if he can, in their own Bow. Discreet Followers and Servants help much to Reputation: *Omnis Fama à Domesticis emanat.* Envy, which is the Canker of Honour is best extinguished by declaring a man's self in his ends, rather to seek Merit than Fame; and by attributing a man's successes, rather to Divine Providence and Felicity, than to his own Virtue or Policy. The true marshalling of the Degrees of Sovereign Honour, are these. In the first place are, *Conditores Imperiorum, Founders of States, and Commonwealths*; such as were *Romulus, Cyrus, Caesar, Ottoman, Ismael.* In the second place are, *Legislatores, Law-givers*; which are also called *Second Founders, or Perpetui Principes*, because they govern by their Ordinances after they are gone; such were *Lycurgus, Solon, Justinian, Edgar, Alphonsus of Castile the wise, that made the Siete Partidas.* In the third place are, *Liberatores or Salvatores*; such as compound the long miseries of Civil Wars, or deliver their Countreys from Servitude of Strangers or Tyrants; as *Au-*  
gustus

*gustus Caesar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus,* King *Henry* the Seventh of England, King *Henry* the Fourth of France. In the fourth place are *Propagatores*, or *Propugnatores Imperii*; such as in Honourable Wars enlarge their Territories, or make noble defence against Invaders. And in the last place are *Patres Patriæ*, which Reign justly, and make the times good wherein they live. Both which last kinds need no Examples, they are in such number. Degrees of Honour in Subjects are: First, *Participes Curarum*, those upon whom Princes do discharge the greatest Weight of their Affairs, their *Right Hands*, as we call them. The next are, *Duces Belli*, Great Leaders, such as are Princes Lieutenants, and do them notable Services in the Wars. The third are *Gratiosi*, *Favouritees*, such as need not this scantling, to be Solace to the Sovereign, and harmless to the People. And the fourth *Negotiorum Pares*, such as have great places under Princes, and execute their places with sufficiency. There is an Honour likewise which may be ranked amongst the greatest, which hapneth rarely, that is, of such as Sacrifice themselves to Death or Danger for the Good of their Country; as was *M. Regulus*, and the two *Dacii*.



## L V F

## Of Judicature.

**JUDGES** ought to remember, that their Office is, *Jus dicere*, and not *Jus dare*: To interpret Law, and not to make Law, or give Law. Else will it be like the Authority claimed by the Church of Rome, which under pretext of Exposition of Scripture, doth not stick to add and alter, and to pronounce that which they do not find; and by *Shew of Antiquity* to introduce Novelty. Judges ought to be more Learned than Witty, more Reverend than Plausible; and more Advised than Confident. Above all things Integrity is their Portion and proper Virtue: *Corruptus* (saith the Law) is he that removeth the Land Mark. The millayer of a new Stone is to blame; but it is the unjust Judge that is the Capital Remover of Land-Marks, when he defineth amiss of Lands and Property. One foul Sentence doth more hurt than many foul Examples; for these do but corrupt the Stream, the other corrupteth the Fountain. So saith Solomon, *Flus turbatus, & Vena corrupta, est Justus cadens in causa sua coram Adversario*. The Office of Judges may have reference unto the Parties that sue, unto the Advocates that plead, unto the Clerks and Ministers of Justice underneath them, and to the Sovereign or State above them.

First, For the *Causes* or *Parties* that sue. There be (saith the Scripture) that turn Judgment into Wormwood; and surely there be also that turn it into Vinegar; for Injustice maketh it bitter, and Delays make it sour. The principal Duty of a Judge is to suppress force and fraud, whereof force is the more pernicious when it is open, and fraud when it is close and disguised. Add thereto contentious Suits, which ought to be spewed out as the Surfeit of Courts. A Judge ought to prepare himself to a Just Sentence, as God useth to prepare his way by raising Valleys, and taking down Hills. So when there appeareth on either side an high Hand, violent Prosecution, cunning Advantages taken, Combination, Power, Great Comends, then is the Virtue of a Judge seen, to make Integrity Equal, that he may plant his Judgment as upon an even Ground. *Qui fortiter emungit, reliquit sanguinem*; and where the Wine-Press is hard wrought, it yields a harsh Wine that bastes of the Grape-Stone. Judges must beware of hard Constructions, and strained Inferences; for there is no worse Torture than the Torture of Laws, specially, in case of Laws penal; they ought to have care, that that which was meant for Terror, be not turned into Rigor, and that they bring not upon the People that Shower whereof the Scripture speaketh, *Pluet super eos Laqueos*; for penal Laws pressed are a Shower of Snare upon the People. Therefore let Penal Laws, if they have been Sleepers of long, or if they be grown unfit for the present Time,

Time, be by wise Judges confined in the Execution, *Judicis Officium est, ut Res ita Tempora Rem, &c.* In Causes of Life and Death, Judges ought (as far as the Law permitteth) in Justice to remember Mercy; and to cast a severe Eye upon the Example, but a merciful Eye upon the Person.

Secondly, For the *Advocates* and *Council* that plead; Patience and Gravity of hearing is an essential part of Justice, and an over-speaking Judge is no well-tuned Cymbal. It is no Grace to a Judge, first to find that which he might have heard in due time from the Bar, or to shew quickness of conceit in cutting off Evidence or Counsel too short, or to prevent Informations by Questions though pertinent. The parts of a Judge in hearing are four: To direct the Evidence; to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency of Speech. To Recapitulate, Select, and Collate the material Points of that which hath been said; And to give the Rule or Sentence. Whatsoever is above these, is too much; and proceedeth either of Glory and willingness to speak, or of Impatience to hear, or of shortness of Memory, or of want of a stayed and equal Attention. It is a strange thing to see, that the boldness of *Advocates* should prevail with Judges; whereas they should imitate God in whose Seat they sit, who represseth the Presumptuous, and giveth Grace to the Modest. But it is more strange, that Judges should have noted Favourites; which cannot but cause multiplication

tion of Fees, and suspicion of By-ways. There is due from the *Judge* to the *Advocate* some Commendation and Gracing, where *Causēs* are well handled, and fair Pleadēd; especially towards the side which obtaineth not; for that upholds in the *Client* the Reputation of his *Counsel*, and beats down in him the conceit of his *Cause*. There is likewise due to the *Publick* a civil Reprehension of *Advocates*, where there appeareth cunning Counsel, gross Neglect, slight Information, indiscreet Pressing, or an overbold Defence. And let not the *Counsel* at the Bar chop with the *Judge*, nor wind himself into the handling of the *Cause* anew, after the *Judge* hath declared his Sentence: But on the other side, let not the *Judge* meet the *Cause* half way, nor give occasion to the Party to say, *His Counsel or Proofs were not heard.*

Thirdly, For that that concerns *Clerks* and *Ministers*. The Place of *Justice* is an Hallowed Place; and therefore not only the Bench, but the Foot-pace, and Precincts, and Purprise thereof ought to be preserved without Scandal and Corruption. For certainly *Grapes* (as the Scripture saith) *will not be gathered of Thorns or Thistles*; neither can *Justice* yield her Fruit with Sweetness amongst the Briars and Brambles of Catching and Poling *Clerks* and *Ministers*. The Attendance of Courts is subject to four bad Instruments: First, Certain Persons that are sowers of Suits which make the Court swell, and the Country pine. The second sort is, Of those that

that engage Courts in Quarrels of Jurisdiction, and are not truly *Amici Curia*, but *Parasiti Curia*, in puffing a Court up beyond her bounds, for their own Scraps and Advantage. The third sort is, Of those that may be accounted the Left Hands of Courts; Persons that are full of nimble and sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct Courses of Courts, and bring Justice into oblique Lines and Labyrinths. And the fourth is, The Poller and Extractor of Fees, which justifies the common resemblance of the Courts of Justice to the Bush, whereunto while the Sheep flies for Defence in Weather, he is sure to lose part of his Fleece. On the other side, an *Ancient Clerk*, skilful in Precedents, wary in proceeding, and understanding in the *Business* of the Court, is an excellent Finger of a Court, and doth many times point the way to the Judge himself.

Fourthly, For that which may concern the Sovereign and Estate. Judges ought above all to remember the conclusion of the *Roman Twelve Tables*, *Salus Populi Suprema Lex*; and to know, that Laws, except they be in order to that end, are but things captious, and Oracles not well inspired. Therefore it is an happy thing in a State, when Kings and States do often consult with Judges; and again, when Judges do often consult with the King and State: The one, when there is a matter of Law intervenient in business of State; The other, when there is some consideration of State intervenient in matter of Law.



For many times the things deduced to *Judgment* may be *Meum* and *Tuum*, when the reason and consequence thereof may Trench to point of *Estate*. I call matter of *Estate* not only the parts of *Soveraignty*, but whatsoever introduceth any great Alteration, or dangerous Precedent, or concerneth manifestly any great portion of People. And let no man weakly conceive, that Just Laws and true Policy have any *antipathy*: For they are like Spirits and Sinews, that one moves with the other. Let *Judges* also remember, That *Solomon's Throne* was supported by Lions on both sides: Let them be Lions, but yet Lions under the *Throne*; being circumspect, that they do not check or oppose any points of *Soveraignty*. Let not *Judges* also be so ignorant of their own right, as to think there is not left to them, as a Principal part of their Office, a wise Use and Application of Laws; for they may remember what the *Apostle* saith of a greater *Law* than theirs, *Nos scimus quia Lex bona est, modo quis ea utatur legitime.*

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 LVII.

*Of Anger.*

TO seek to extinguish *Anger* utterly, is but a *bravery* of the *Stoicks*. We have better *Oracles*: *Be angry, but sin not. Let not the Sun go down upon your anger.* *Anger* must be limited and

and confined, both in Race and Time. We will first speak, how the Natural Inclination and Habit to be angry, may be attempted and calmed. Secondly, How the particular motions of anger may be repressed, or at least refrained from doing mischief. Thirdly, How to raise anger, or appease anger in another.

For the first: There is no other way but to Meditate and Ruminare well upon the effects of Anger, how it troubles man's Life. And the best time to do this is, to look back upon Anger, when the fit is thoroughly over. Seneca saith well; *That Anger is like Ruin, which breaks it self upon that it falls.* The Scripture exhorteth us, *To possess our Souls in patience.* Whosoever is out of patience, is out of Possession of his Soul. Men must not turn Bees;

— *Animasque in vulnere ponunt.*

Anger is certainly a kind of Baseness; as it appears well in the Weakness of those Subjects in whom it reigns, Children, Women, Old Folks, Sick Folks. Only men must beware, that they carry their Anger rather with Scorn, than with Fear: So that they may seem rather to be above the injury, than below it, which is a thing easily done, if a man will give Law to himself in it.

For the second Point. The Causes and Motives of Anger are chiefly three: First, to be too sensible of hurt: For no man is Angry that feels not

not himself hurt; and therefore tender and delicate Persons must needs be often *Angry*: They have so many things to trouble them, which more robust Natures have little sense of. The next is, the Apprehension and Construction of the Injury offered, to be in the circumstances thereof, full of *contempt*. For *contempt* is that which putteth an edge upon *Anger*, as much or more than the hurt it self: And therefore when men are ingenious in picking out circumstances of *contempt*, they do kindle their *Anger* much. Lastly, Opinion of the touch of a mans *Reputation* doth multiply and sharpen *Anger*: Wherein the remedy is, that a man should have, as *Gonsalvo* was wont to say, *Telam Honoris Crassiozem*. But in all restrainings of *Anger*, it is the best remedy to win Time, and to make a mans self believe that the Opportunity of his Revenge is not yet come, but that he foresees a time for it, and so to still himself in the mean time, and reserve it.

To contain *Anger* from *Mischief*, though it take hold of a man, there be two things, whereof you must have special Caution: The one, of extreame bitterness of Words, especially if they be Aculeate and Proper; for *Communia Maledicta* are nothing so much. And again, That in *Anger* a man reveal no Secrets; for that makes him not fit for Society. The other, That you do not peremptorily break off in any business in a fit of *Anger*; but howsoever you shew bitterness, do not ~~at~~ any thing that is not revocable.

For

For raising and appeasing Anger in another: It is done chiefly by chusing of Times; when men are frowardest and worst disposed, to incense them. Again, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can find out to aggravate the contempt; and the two remedies are by the contraries: The former, to take good Times, when first to relate to a man an angry business: For the first Impression is much; and the other is, to sever as much as may be the Construction of the Injury from the Point of contempt; imputing it to Misunderstanding, Fear, Passion, or what you will.

LVIII.

Of Vicissitude of Things.

SOLOMON saith, There is no new thing upon the Earth. So that as Plato had an imagination, That all knowledge was but a remembrance: So Solomon giveth his sentence, That all Novelty is but Oblivion: Whereby you may see, That the River of Lethe runneth as well above ground as below. There is an abstruse Astrologer that saith, If it were not for two things that are constant, (The one is, That the fixed Stars ever stand at like distance one from another, and never come nearer together, nor go further asunder; the other, That the Diurnal Rotation perpetually keepeth Time) no Individual would last one moment. Certain it is, That  
the

the matter is in a perpetual Flux, and never at a stay. The great Winding-Sheets that bury all things in Oblivion are two; *Deluges* and *Earthquakes*. As for *Conflagrations* and great *Droughts*, they do not merely dispeople, but destroy. *Phaeton's Car* went but a Day: And the *Three Years Drought*, in the time of *Elias*, was but particular, and left People alive. As for the great *burnings* by *Lightnings*, which are often in the *West Indies*, they are but narrow. But in the other two *Destructions*, by *Deluge* and *Earthquake*, it is further to be noted, That the remnant of People which hap to be reserved, are commonly ignorant and mountainous People, that can give no account of the time past; so that the Oblivion is all one, as if none had been left. If you consider well of the People of the *West-Indies*, it is very probable, that they are a newer or younger People, than the People of the old World. And it is much more likely, that the destruction that hath heretofore been there, was not by *Earthquakes*, (as the *Egyptian Priest* told *Solon*, concerning the Island of *Atlantis*, That it was swallowed by an *Earthquake*) but rather, it was Desolated by a particular *Deluge*: For *Earthquakes* are seldom in those Parts. But on the other side, they have such pouring *Rivers*, as the *Rivers* of *Asia*, and *Affrick*, and *Europe*, are but Brooks to them. Their *Andes* likewise, or Mountains, are far higher than those with us; whereby it seems, that the Remnants of Generations of Men were in such a particular *Deluge* saved. As  
for



for the observation that *Machiavel* hath, That the Jealousie of *Sects* doth much extinguish the memory of things; traducing *Gregory* the Great, that he did what in him lay to extinguish all Heathen Antiquities. I do not find that those Zeals do any great Effects, nor last long; as it appeared in the Succession of *Sabinian*, who did revive the former Antiquities.

The *Vicissitude* or *Mutations* in the Superior Globe, are no fit matter for this present Argument. It may be *Plato's* Great Year, if the World should last so long, would have some effect; not in renewing the State of like Individuals, (for that in the Fume of those, that conceive the Celestial Bodies have more accurate Influences upon these things below, than indeed they have) but in *Gross*. Comets out of question have likewise Power and Effect over the *Gross* and *Mass* of things: But they are rather gazed upon, and waited upon in their Journey, than wisely observed in their Effects, especially in their respective Effects; that is, What kind of Comet for Magnitude, Colour, Version of the Beams, placing in the Region of Heaven, or lasting, produceth what kind of effects.

There is a Toy which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say it is observed in the Low-Countries, (I know not in what part) That every five and thirty Years, the same kind and suit of Years and Weathers comes about again, as great Frosts, great Wet, great Droughts, warm Winters,

Winters, Summers with little Heat, and the like; and they call it the *Prime*. It is a thing I do rather mention, because computing backwards, I have found some concurrence.

But to leave these points of *Nature*, and come to men. The greatest *Vicissitude* of things amongst men, is, The *Vicissitude* of *Sells* and *Religion*. For those Orbs rule in mens minds most. The true *Religion* is built upon the Rock, the rest are tost upon the Waves of Time. To speak therefore of the *Causes* of new *Sects*, and to give some Counsel concerning them, as far as the weakness of Human Judgment can give stay to so great *Revolutions*.

When the *Religion* formerly received, is rent by Discords; and when the Holiness of the Professors of *Religion* is decayed, and full of Scandal, and withal the Times be Scupid, Ignorant, and Barbarous, you may doubt the springing up of a new *Sect*, if then also there should arise any extravagant and strange Spirit to make himself Author thereof: All which points held, when *Mohomet* published his *Law*. If a new *Sect* have not two properties, fear it not; for it will not spread. The one is, The Supplanting or the Opposing of Authority established: For nothing is more popular than that. The other is, The giving Licence to pleasures and Voluptuous Life. For as for *Speculative Heresies*, (such as were in Ancient Times the *Arrians*, and now the *Arminians*) though they work mightily upon mens Wits, yet they do not produce any great alteration

tion in States, except it be by the help of Civil Occasions. There be three manner of Plantations of new Sects, By the Power of Signs and Miracles, by the Eloquence and Wisdom of Speech and Perswasion, and by the Sword; for Martyrdoms, I reckon them amongst Miracles, because they seem to exceed the strength of Human Nature: And I may do the like of Superlative and Admirable Holiness of Life. Surely there is no better way to stop the rising of new Sects and Schisms, than to reform abuses, to compound the smaller differences, to proceed mildly, and not with Sanguinary persecutions; and rather to take off the principal Authors by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterness.

The Changes and Vicissitude in Wars are many, but chiefly in three things: In the Seats or Stages of the War, in the Weapons, and in the manner of the Conduct. Wars in Ancient Time, seemed more to move from East to West: For the Persians, Assyrians, Arabians, Tartars (which are the Invaders) were all Eastern People. It is true, the Gauls were Western, but we read but of two IncurSIONS of theirs, the one to Gallatonia, the other to Rome. But East and West have no certain Points of Heaven, and no more have the Wars, either from the East or West any certainty of Observation. But North and South are fixed, and it hath seldom or never been seen, that the far Southern People have invaded the Northern, but contrariwise. Whereby it is manifest,

nifest, that the Northern *Trait* of the World is in nature the more Martial Religion; be it in respect of the Stars of that Hemisphere, or of the great Continents that are upon the *North*, whereas the *South Part*, for ought that is known, is almost all Sea; or (which is most apparent) of the Cold of the *Northern Parts*, which is that, which without Aid of Discipline doth make the bodies hardest, and the Conrages warmest.

Upon the *Breaking and Shivering* of a great State and Empire, you may be sure to have Wars. For great Empires, while they stand, do enervate and destroy the forces of the Natives which they have subdued, resting upon their own Protecting forces; and then when they fail also, all goes to ruine, and they become a Prey. So was it in the decay of the *Roman Empire*; and likewise in the Empire of *Almain*, after *Charles* the Great, every Bird taking a Feather, and were not unlike to befall to *Spain*, if it should break. The great *Accessions* and *Unions* of Kingdoms do likewise stir up Wars. For when a State grows to an Over-power, it is like a great flood that will be sure to over-flow. As it hath been seen in the States of *Rome*, *Turkie*, *Spain*, and others. Look when the World hath fewest barbarous People, but such as commonly will not marry or generate, except they know means to live; (as it is almost every where at this day, except *Tartary*) there is no danger of Inundations of People; but when there be great Shoals of People, which go on to populate without foreseeing means of Life and

and Sufferation, it is of necessity that once in  
 age or two, they discharge a Portion of their  
 Dominion, either Nations, which the ancient  
 Romans were wont to do, by losing casting  
 long while past should stay at home, and what  
 should seek their Fortunes. When a *Warlike State*  
 grows full and effeminate, they may be sure of  
 a *War*; for commonly such States are grown  
 ripe in the time of their Degenerating, and so  
 the Peop<sup>le</sup> is fit for it, and their decay in valour en-  
 courageth *Wars*. *Weapons*, it hardly falleth under  
 Rule and Observation; yet we see even they  
 have *Revolutions* and *Perissances*. For certain it is,  
 that *Ordnance* was known in the City of the *Oxy-*  
*drachia* in Asia, and was that which the *Macedo-*  
*nians* called Thunder and Lightning, and Magick.  
 And it is well known, that the use of *Ordnance*  
 hath been in this above 2000 Years. The con-  
 ditions of *Weapons*, and their improvement are,  
 First, The fetching afar off; for that out-runs  
 the danger, as it is seen in *Ordnance* and *Muskets*.  
 Secondly, The strength of the Percussion, where-  
 in likewise *Ordnance* do exceed all *Arietations*,  
 and ancient *Inventions*. The Third is, The com-  
 modious use of them; as that they may serve in  
 all *Weathers*, that the Carriage may be light and  
 portable; and the like.

For the Conduct of the *War*, at the first men  
 relied extremely upon *Number*, they did put the  
*Wars* likewise upon *main Force* and *Valour*, join-  
 ing days for pitched Fields, and so trying it out  
 upon



upon an even match, and they were more ignorant in *Ranking* and *Arranging* their *Battles*. After they grew to rest upon *Number*, rather *Content* than *Art*, they grew to *advantages* of *Place*, *Cunning*, *Diversions*, and the like; and they grew more skillful in the *ordering* of their *Battles*. As in the *Trick* of a *State*, *Arm*, *discovery*; in the *middle* *Age* of a *State*, *Learning*; and then both of them together for a time; in the *declining* *Age* of a *State*, *Mechanical* *Arts* and *Merchandise*. *Learning* bath his *Infancy* when it is but *beginning*, and almost *Childish*; then his *Youth* when it is *Luxuriant* and *Juvenile*; then his *Strength* of *Years*, when it is *solid* and *reduced*; and lastly, his *Old* *Age*; when it waxed *dry* and *exhaust*. But it is not good to look too long upon these turning *Wheels* of *Idissolvance*, lest we become *giddy*. As for the *Philology* of them, that is but a *Circle* of *Fables*; and therefore not fit for this *Writing*.

The first step is to identify the problem.

*A Fragment of an Essay of Fables*

**T**HIS *Poet* make *Fame* a *Master*. They describe her in part finely and elegantly; and in part gravely and sententiously. They say, look how many *Feathers* she hath, so many *Eyes* she hath underneath: so many *Tongues*; so many *Voices*; she pricks up so many *Ears*.

**This**

This is a flourish: There follow excellent Parables: as that she gathereth strength in going; that she goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the Clouds. That in the day-time she sitteth in a Watch Tower, and smiteth most by night: That she mingleth things done, with things not done: And that she is a terror to great Cities. But that which passeth all the rest is, they do recount that the Earth, Mother of the Giants, that made War against Jupiter, and were by him destroyed, thereupon, in anger, brought forth Fame: For certain it is, that Rebels, figured by the Giants and Seditious Furies, and Rebels, and but Brothers and Sisters; Masculines and Femines. But now if a man can tame this Monster, and bring her to feed at the hand, and govern her, and with her slay other ravening fowl, and kill them, it is somewhat worth. But we are infected with the stile of the Poets. To speak now in a sad and serious manner: There is not in all the Politicks, a Place less handled, and more worthy to be handled, than this of Fame. We will therefore speak of these points: What are false Fames; and what are true Fames; and how they may be best discerned; how Fames may be sown and raised; how they may be spread and multiplied, and how they may be checked and laid dead: And other things concerning the Nature of Fame. Fame is of that force, as there is scarcely any great Action wherein it hath not a great part, especially in the War. Mucianus undid Virellius by a Fame that he scattered;

tered; that *Vitellius* had in purpose to remove the *Legions* of *Syria* into *Germany*: and the *Legions* of *Germany* into *Syria*: whereupon the *Legions* of *Syria* were infinitely inflamed. *Julius Caesar* took *Pompey* unprovided, and layed *after* his industry and preparations, by a *Pam* that he cunningly gave out, how *Caesars* own *Soldiers* loved him not; and being wearied with the Wars, and laden with the spoils of *Gaul*, would forsake him as soon as he came into *Italy*. *Dom* settled all things for the Succession of her Son *Tiberius*, by continual giving out, that her Husband *Augustus* was upon recovery and amendment. And it is an usual thing with *Sassons*, to conceal the Death of the great Turk, to save the Sacking of *Constantinople*, and other Towns, as their manner is. *Themistocles* made *Xerxes* King of *Persia* post apace out of *Greece*, by giving out that the *Greeks* had a purpose to break his *Bridge* of *Ships*, which he had made *across* *Hellaspont*. There be a thousand such like *Examples*; and the more they are, the less they need to be repeated; because a man meeteth with them every where. Therefore, let all wise *Governors* have as great a watch and care over *Fames*, as they have of their *Allions* and *Designs* themselves.

The rest was not finished.

## LX.

*A Civil Character of Julius Caesar.*

**JULIUS CESAR** was partaker at first of an exercised Fortune; which turned to his benefit: For it abated the haughtiness of his spirit, and whetted his Industry. He had a mind, *restless* in his Desires and Affections; but in his judgment and understanding very *serene* and *placid*. And this appears by his easie deliveries of himself, both in his Transactions and in his Speech. For no man ever resolved more swiftly, or spake more perspicuously and plainly. There was nothing forced or difficult in his expressions. But in his will and appetite, he was of that Condition, that he never rested in those things he had gotten; but still thirsted and pursued after new; yet so, that he would not rush into new Affairs rashly, but settle and make an end of the former, before he attempted fresh Actions. So that he would put a seasonable period to all his Undertakings. And therefore, though he won many Battles in Spain, and weakened their Forces by degrees; yet he would not give over, nor despoil the Reliques of the Civil War there, till he had seen all things composed; But then as soon as that was done, and the State settled, instantly he advanced in his Expedition against the *Parthians*.

— He was, no doubt, of a very noble Mind; but yet such as aimed more at his particular *Advancement*, than at any *Merits* for the *Common Good*. For he referred all things to *Himself*; and was the true and perfect *Centre* of all his *Actions*. By which means, being so fast tied to his *Ends*, he was still prosperous, and prevailed in his *Purposes*; Inasmuch, that neither *Country*, nor *Religion*, nor good *Turns* done him, nor *Kindred*, nor *Friendship* diverted his *Appetite*, nor bridled him from pursuing his own *Ends*. Neither was he much inclined to *work* of *Perpetuity*: For he established nothing for the future; He founded no sumptuous *Buildings*; He procured to be enacted no wholesome *Laws*, but still minded himself: And to his thoughts were confined within the *Circle* of his own *Life*. He sought indeed after *Fame* and *Reputation*, because he thought they might be profitable to his *Designs*: Otherwise, in his inward thoughts he propounded to himself rather *Abundance* of *Power*, than *Honour* and *Fame*. For as for *Honour* and *Fame*, he pursued not after them for themselves; but because they were the *Instruments* of *Power* and *Greatness*. And therefore he was carried on through a *Natural Inclination*, not by any *Rules* that he had learned, to effect the sole *Regiment*; and rather to *enjoy* the same than to *seem* worthy of it. And by this means he won much *Reputation* amongst the *People*, who are no valuers of true *Worth*: But amongst the *Nobility* and great Men, who  
were



were tender of their own Honours, it procured him no more than this, that he incurred the Brand of an *Ambitious* and *Daring* Man.

Neither did they much err from the Truth who thought him so; for he was by Nature exceeding *bold*; and never did put on any shew of *Modesty*, except it were for some purposes. Yet notwithstanding, he so attempted his *Business*, that it neither impeached him of Rashness; nor was burthensome to men; nor rendered his Nature suspected, but was conceived to flow out of an innate Sincerity and freeness of Behaviour; and the *Nobility* of his *Birth*: And in all other things he passed, not for a *Crafty* and *Deceitful* Person, but for an *open hearted* and *Main-dealing* man. And whereas he was indeed an *Arch Politician*, that could counterfeit and dissemble sufficiently well; and was wholly compounded of *Frauds* and *Deceits*, so that there was nothing *sincere* in him, but all *artificial*; yet he covered, and disguised himself so, that no such Vices appeared to the Eyes of the World; but he was generally reputed to proceed plainly and uprightly with all men. Howbeit, he did not stoop to any petty and mean *Artifices*, as they do, which are ignorant in State-Employments; and depend not so much upon the strength of their own Wits, as upon the Councils and Brains of others, to support their Authority; for he was skilled in the Turnings of all Human Affairs; and transacted all Matters, especially those of high Consequence by himself, and not by others.

He was singularly skillful to avoid Envy; and found it not impertinent to his Ends, to decline that, though it were with some diminution of his *Dignity*. His aiming at a *Real Power*, he was content to pass by all vain Pomp and outward shews of Power, throughout his whole life; Till at the last, whether high-born with the continual Exercise of Power, or corrupted with Flatteries, he affected the *Ensigns of Power*, (the *Stile and Diadem of a King*,) which was the Bolt that wrought his Overthrow.

This is true, that he harboured the thought of a *Kingdom* from his very youth: And hence to the Example of *Sylla*, and the *Kingdome of Marius*, and his Emulation of *Pompey*, and the Corruption and Ambition of the Times, did prick him forward: But then he paved his way to a *Kingdom*, after a wonderful and strange manner. As first, by a *Popular and Seditious Power*; afterwards by a *Military Power*; and that of a *General in War*. For there was required to effect his Ends: First, That he should break the Power and Authority of the *Senate*: which, as long as it stood firm, was adverse, and an hindrance, that no Man could climb to *Sovereignty and Imperial Command*. Then the *Power of Crassus and Pompey* was to be subdued and galled, which could not be done otherwise, than by *War*. And therefore (as the most *Governing Contrivance of his own Fortune*) he laid his first Foundation by *Bribes*: By corrupting the *Courts of Justice*; by renewing the memory of *Cato Marcius*, and his

his party; For most of the Senators and Nobles were against him; and by the Law of Treason, being a Fugitive among the Common People; by the Sedition of the Tribunes, where he was the object; by the Malice and Fury of Cicerone, and the Consulars; unto which Action he severely blew the Coal; by the Banishment of Cicerone, which was the greatest Blow to the Authority of the Senate; and might be, and several other like done: But most of all by the Conjunction of Crassus and Pompey, both betwixt themselves, and with him; which was the thing that finished this work. And to accomplish this part, he betook himself to the other; which was to make use of, and to employ his power in Forbearing more Provincial of France for five years; and afterwards continuing for five years more; he furnished himself with Arms and Legions, and the power of a Warlike and Opulent *Provincer*; as was formidable to his

Neither was he ignorant, that after he had strengthened himself with Arms, and a Military Power, neither Crassus nor Pompey could ever be able to bear up against him; whereof the one trusted to his great Riches, the other to his Fame and Reputation; the one decayed through Age, the other in Power and Authority: And neither of them were grounded upon true and lasting Foundations. And the rather, for that he had obliged all the Senators and Magistrates: And in a word, all those that had any power in the Com-

was so firmly to himself, with private benefits, that he was fearless of any Combination or Opposition against his Designs; till he had openly invaded the *Imperial Power*.

Which thing, though he always bare in his Mind, and at the last acted it; yet he did not lay down his former person; but coloured things so, that what with the reasonableness of his Demands, what with his pretences of Peace, and what with the moderate use of his Successes, he turned all the Envy of the *Adversary Party*, and seemed to take up Arms upon necessity for his own preservation and safety. But the falseness of this pretence manifestly appeared; inasmuch as soon after having obtained the *Regal Power*, all *Civil War* being suppressed, and all his *Rivals* and *Opposites*, which might put him to any fear, being removed out of the way by the stroke of *Death*; notwithstanding he never thought of resigning the *Republick*; no, nor ever made any shew or offer of resigning the same. Which shewed plainly, that his ambition of being a *King* was settled in him, and remained with him unto his last breath. For he did not lay hold upon occasions, as they happened, but moulded and formed the occasions, as himself pleased.

His chief *Ability* consisted in *Martial Knowledge*; in which he so excelled, that he could not only lead an Army, but mould an Army to his own liking. For he was not more skillful in managing Affairs, than in winning of Hearts. Neither did he affect this by any ordinary Discipline,

phie, as by inducing them to follow his commands, or by striking a blow into them to obey, or by carrying a severe hand over them. But by such a way as did wonderfully stir up an alacrity and cheerfulness in them: and did in a sort assure him of the Victory beforehand, and which did oblige the Soldier to him, more than was fit for a Free Estate. Now whereas he was versed in all kinds of *Martial Knowledge*, and joined *Civil Arts* with the *Arts of War*; nothing came so suddenly, or so unlookt for upon him, for which he had not a remedy at hand: And nothing was so averie, but that he could pick something for his Turn and Benefit out of it.

He stood sufficiently upon his *State* and *Greatness*. For in great Battels, he would sit at home in the *Head Quarter*, and manage all Things by *Messengers*, which wrought him a double benefit. First, that it secured his *Person* more, and exposed him the less to *Danger*. Secondly, that at any time his *Army* was worsted, he could put new spirit into them with his own presence, and the Addition of *Fresh Forces*, and turn the *Fortune* of the *Day*. In the conducting of his *Wars*, he would not only follow former *Precedents*, but he was able to devise and pursue new *Stratagems*, according as the accidents and occasions required.

He was constant, and singularly kind, and indulgent in his *Friendships* contracted. Notwithstanding, he made choice of such *Friends*,



as a Man might easily see, that he chose them rather to be *Instruments* to his *Ends*, than for any *Good*, *and* rewards them. And whereas, by *Nature*, and out of a firm Resolution, he adhered to this Principle; not to be eminent amongst *Great* and *deserving* Men; but to be chief amongst *Inferiours* and *Vassals*: he chose only mean and active Men, and such as to whom himself might be all in all. And hereupon grew that saying; *So let Cæsar live, though I dye*: and other Speeches of that kind. As for the *Nobility*, and those that were his *Peers*, he contracted Friendship, with such of them as might be useful to him; and admitted none to his *Cabinet Council*, but those that had their Fortunes wholly depending upon him.

He was moderately furnished with good *Literature*, and the *Arts*; But in such sort as he applied his skill therein to *Civil Policy*. For he was well read in *History*; and was expert in *Rhetorick*, and the *Art of Speaking*. And because he attributed much to his good *Stars*, he would pretend more than an ordinary Knowledge in *Astronomy*. As for *Eloquence*, and a prompt *Elocution*, that was *Natural* to him, and pure.

He was dissolute, and propense to *Voleptuousness* and *Pleasures*; which served well at first for a Cover to his *Ambition*. For no man would imagine, that a man so loosely given could harbour any Ambitious and Vast Thoughts in his Heart. Notwithstanding, he so governed his

Pleasures; that they were no hindrance, either to his profit, or to his business: And they did rather whet, than dull the vigour of his Mind. He was Temperate at his Meals; free from Avarice, and Covetousness in his Expend; pleasant and agreeable at publick Interludes.

Thus being accomplished, the same thing was the Means of his *down-fall* at last; which in his Beginnings was a Rep to his Wife, I mean his *affection of Popularity*. For nothing is more power, than to forgive our Enemies. Through which, either *Persecution* or *Calumny*, he lost his Life.

than I could have proposed to himself, and seemed to have no other ends to himself, and were orderly and well weighed, and governed by Reason. LXII.

*A Civil Character of Augustus Caesar.*

**AUGUSTUS CAESAR** (if ever any *Mortal Man*) was endued with a *great* *Gift of Mind*, undisturbed with Passions, clear and well ordered; which is evidenced by the High Achievements which he performed in his early youth. For those persons which are of a turbulent Nature or Appetite, do commonly pass their youth in many Errors; and about their middle, and then, and not before, they shew forth their Perfections; but those that are of a sedate and calm Nature, may be ripe for great and glorious Actions in their youth. And whereas the *Education* of the Mind, no less than the Parts and

Mem-

Members of the Body, do consist and flourish in a good temper of *Health* and *Beauty* and *Strength*: So he was in the *Strength* of the *Mind*, inferior to his Uncle *Julius*; but in the *Health* and *Beauty* of the *Mind*, *superior*. For *Julius* being of an unquiet and uncomposed Spirit, (as those who are troubled with the *Falling Sickness* for the most part are,) notwithstanding he carried on his own ends with much Moderation and Discretion; but he did not order his ends well, propounding to himself, vast and high Designs, above the Reach of a *Mortal Man*. But *Augustus*, as a Man sober, and mindful of his *Mortality*, seemed to propound no other ends to himself, than such as were orderly and well weighed, and governed by *Reason*. For first he was desirous indeed to have the *Rule* and *Principality* in his hands; then he sought to appear worthy of that *Power* which he should acquire: Next, to enjoy an *High Place*; he accounted but a *Transient Thing*: Lastly, He endeavoured to do such *Actions*, as might continue his *memory*, and leave an *Impression* of his good *Governments* to *After Ages*. And therefore, in the beginning of his *Age*, he affected *Power*; in the middle of his *Age*, *Honour* and *Dignity*; in the decline of his years, *Ease* and *Pleasure*; and in the end of his *Life*, he was wholly bent to *Memory* and *Posterity*.

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